EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, -AT-

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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

The Liberator. -

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

nti-Slavery Celebration at Framingham, July 4, 1861.

can feel himself particularly competent to make speech on the anti-slavery question just now. It is al

raphic Report by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON. Friends, what can I say to you to-day! No man The United States Constitution is "a co with death, and an agreement with hell."

J. B. YERRINTON & SON. Printers

WHOLE NO. 1594

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 28.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1861.

## Refuge of Oppression.

The traitors who are the most to be detested The traitors who are the most to be deceased and watched, at this crisis, do not reside in the Consederate States, but at the North—who, while affecting to be loyal to the government, are hypocritically deploring the evils of war, suggesting the desirableness of compromise on any terms however degrading and iniquitous, and insisting that the North, not the such is to blame as the aggressive party. Of such assumqueous, and insisting that the North, not the Scath, is to blame as the aggressive party. Of such treason are the Journal of Commerce and its contribu-tors daily guilty. Below is a specimen.

[From the New York Journal of Commerce.]

It will be observed by the date at its close, that this communication was written on the 11th of May. But it was doubted whether, the public mind was then in a condition to receive so much thath so plain 15 spoken, and therefore the publication of the arti-cle has been deferred to the present time.

#### SOME REASONS WHY I AM OPPOSED TO THE PRESENT WAR.

First—Because war is, at best, a terrible necessity, not to be resorted to until all amicable means of setting national difficulties have been exhausted. It is well known that ever since the election of Mr. Lincoln, the Republican party has resisted every practical suggestion in favor of peace that has been effered.

practical suggestion in hards of peace deferred.

Towards the close of the last session of Congress, shen a final effort was made in the Senate on belaif of the Crittenden resolutions, the motion was defeated, one of the Senators, I think his name is Itale, saying, "We have more important business on hand,—we have a Tariff to pass."

Second.—Because it is a civil war, of all wars the most cruel and exhausting, and the most repugnant to the sentements of the present age.

Third.—Because, if successful, it must be over the runs of the Republic. We shall have a government, but it will not be the government of the United States.

ruins of the Republic. We shall have a govern-ment, but it will not be the government of the Uni-ted States.

It is an abuse of terms to speak of a Union of

It is an abuse of terms to speak of a Union on compulsion, "a union of equals," consisting of con-querors and conquered; besides, a government as-serted by force must be maintained by force; and the power necessary to hold, in subjection one half of the country, is a standing menace to the liberties

of the remainder.

Fourth—Because it cannot succeed. Eight millions of free people, inhabiting such a country as they possess, accustomed to the use of arms, fighting, as they rerily believe, for their lives and for all that makes life precious, cannot be conquered.

Fifth—Because we enter upon it without the moral support of the great Christian nations of the earth; and in prosecuting it are very likely to emberol ourselves with them.

moral support of the great charactan manuas of the earth; and in prosecuting it are very likely to embroil ourselves with them.

Sixth—Because war will not settle our difficulties; it will only aggravate them. We shall have to hegoiate sooner or later, and had better do so at the threshold of a bitter war than at its close.

Secenth—Because of the spirit of lawlessness and ferocity it is creating. The hand on the dial seems to have gone three centuries backward since this var compensed.

serocity it is creating. The hand on the char seems to have gone three centuries backward since this sar commenced.

Eighth—Because of the conditions on which it is waged; submission or extermination.

Ninh—Because it will promote the unfriendly designs of our great foreign rival and grade and power. Tenth—Because it will prove ruinous to the city of New York, and highly injurious to the country at large. It will load the country with a heavy national debt; withdraw the strength of our population from the pursuits of peaceful industry to a life of high excitements and irregularities; drive our commerce from the seas, or send it skulking under convoy; the heathful channels of enterprise and profit will be choked up; the capital of the country will be hoarded on absorbed by the government for warlike uses; consumers and idlers will be middle used to fore and vicious will be diminished; property will depreciate in value; the hard-earned credit and wealth of years will vanish away; there will be a general bankruptcy; all classes will suffer; and the poor and vicious will be greatly increased. Such are some of the followers in the train of this war. How greatly will these evils be multiplied and aggravated, in case the var should fail of its object!

Elecenth—Because of its tendency to demoralize the government, and make it one stupendous jobbing concern for the benefit of contractors and their confederates.

Twelfth—Because the Declaration of Independ

derates.

Twelfth—Because the Declaration of Indepennce asserts the right of a people "to dissolve the
ditical bonds which have connected them with bonds which have connected them which and to assume among the powers of the e separate and equal station to which the nature and of nature's God entitle them."
Governments are instituted among men, despense the consent of the governments are instituted among men, despense the consent of the governments. "That Governments are instituted among men, defining their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation in such principles and organizing its powers in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

When New York ratified the Constitution, she expressly reaffirmed those principles, and further said, "That the powers of the Government may be reassumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary for their happiness;" the ratifications of Rhode Island and of Virginia are to the same effect. These express conditions apply to all of the States, for all are equal.

right and capacity of self-governments are the pretensions of Great Britain in her attempts to correct the Colonies and maintain her government. We make our forefathers traitors, and the Declaration of Independence the round robin of a nest of conspirators against law, order and government. It makes a world of difference whether we run with the have, or hunt with the hounds.

Filtenth—Because it is not, as some suppose, a war to sustain our government, but a war to compel other. States, our equals, to continue members of a government they do not choose to have.

States, the Because it is a war for supremacy, and not for the Constitution; a war of desperation, and not of hope.

adversity; on all sides baffled and perplexed, we yield to our passions, fly to arms, and seek those desperate courses, "which, if not victory, are yet re-

enge."

Seventeenth—Because it is inexpedient; and, expression for saving it, unnatural. Instead of make Seventeenth—Because it is inexpedient; and, excuse me for saying it, unnatural. Instead of making the best of our misfortunes, we are making the worst of them. Wisdom, true patriotism, high conduct, the respectable opinion of mankind, religion, all tell us: "Let these people go." Protest if you please, (saying nothing of your own share in the business,) in terms of rhetoric the most dignified and touching, against the course they have taken, and the ruin they have accomplished; but let them go. Your fathers fought the battles of the Revolution shoulder to shoulder with their fathers; the askes of your dead mingle in the soil of every State from Maine to California; your sons have taken of their daughters to wife, and their sons have taken of your daughters to wife, and their sons have taken of your daughters to wife; ye are brethren; ye have been baptized with the same paptism,—have wept at the same graves.

speech on the anti-savery question is, whether it is probable one man will guess a little better than another. It seems to me that we are all aftoat. Events, not men, are the great objects of interest. War between two great ideas has commenced. Almost all we can do is to watch the gradual progress of that condict. You will not therefore, expect from me a same graves.

"And Abram said to Lot, Let there be no strife I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and they herdsmen, for we be brethren: Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the leth hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

Are not these imperative considerations? Let us submit to them gracefully, and put aside the arms of fratricidal strife. It was Moloch, the bloody deity, who

"rather than be less." flict. You will not, therefore, expect from n

"rather than be less,

Caree not to be at all."

The sentiment was worthy of the soil. True ourage speaks a different language. Let us take counsel of sound policy and deliberate judgment, and turn from the rash conclusion of fanaticism and resentment; let us be friends, serviceable neighbors, if we cannot be fellow-citizens. If the Union is to if we cannot be fellow-citizens. If the Union is to be saved, it is not to be saved by force. If the Union be lost, it is nevertheless in our power to become close allies, and to stand before the world as one peo-

ple, a mighty nation.

Let the most sanguinary mind, the liveliest imagination, endeavor to pierce the future of a contrary course, and it will vainly strive to fathom an abyss unfathomable, of woe and desolation which no pen

pressible connect.—The long-expected say, as a mought us face to face in oathe. Got see praises for a prought us face to face in oathe. Got see praises for a prought us face to face in oathe. Got see praises for a prought us face to face in oathe. Got see praises for a prought us face to face in oathe. Got see praises for a prought us face to face in oathe. Got see praises for our forms in the slave. As neither party has shown statesmanship there present, suddenly converted into blazing patriots, glow with pious heat against all freedom save their own. Those who differ with them are traitors, and the slave formed the present, and that is, the deep-scated will, the enlightened conscience, and the assured purchase lower between of the Constitution they shall be a prought us face to face in oathe. Got see the state of the cannot be sufficient to sound the jubilee of the slave. As neither party has shown statesmanship thickness will be slave. As neither party has shown statesmanship with the slave. As neither party has shown statesmanship the slave and the slave. As neither party has shown statesmanship the slave and the slave are slave and the slave and the slave are slave are slave and the slave are slave and the slave are slave and the slave are slave are slave and the slave are slave are slave and the slave are slave and the slave are slave are slave and the slave are slave and the slave are slave a own. Those who differ with them are traiters; to oppose them is treason. In the name of the Union they have betrayed, of the Constitution they have disregarded, and of the laws they have insolently

replies—"We should have preferred debate—a free press—cducation—ballots; but if you choose bullets, press—cducation—ballots; but if you choose bullets, agreed! The stars and stripes meant Liberty in '76, and shall now." I myself should have preferred peace and argument, but the twenty million have chosen and argument, but the twenty million have chosen discussion, of proud contempt on one side, and suband shall now." I myself should have preferred peace and argument, but the twenty million have chosen otherwise. I have only to accept the Red Sea through which God wills to lead his people, and I rejoice still that Cansan is beyond. If we are to serve our agreement of the other, which the hounds knew meant that Cansan is beyond. If we are to serve our agreement agreement with the other still be unconditional to the serve our agreement which the other side. We must change the meant agreement which have created this quarrel, if we would end it. They are only to be changed by emancing the control of the serve o

speech. All I will attempt is simply to give you, in a friendly way, my impression of men and things, as we stand; just to state, informally, as one does to another on the sidewalk, how I look at things just now. In the first place, I feel satisfied that the end of the slave system has come. (Applause.) I have no doubt that we begin to touch the end. My reason is this. The age of discussion is over. We fifty years, more or less, of what is called agitation discussion, and party divisions. Now, a new act has opened. It is the hour of fight—the age of bullets opened. It is the hour of fight—the age of bullets. That never lasts very long. It does not take as much time for a nation to fight itself clear as it does to tall time for a nation to fight feeth clear a table about itself clear, only it is necessary that the talk should precede such a fight. It is only necessary that the mind, the substratum of purpose, should be deliberately formed. I think it has been. I do not mean to say fully come to the conviction, that unless they can u fully come to the conviction, that unless they can use the Union to support slavery, the system is gone; and I think the North has come to this conviction, that the Union never shall be used to sustain slavery. I think, so far, the public mind is made up. I do not mean that the popular mind objects specifically to certain

Let the most sanguinary mind, the liveliest imagination, endeavor to pierce the future of a contrary course, and it will vainly strive to fathom an abyes unfathomable, of wee and desolation which no pen an describe.

Eighteenth—I oppose this war because it is a war of sections: the North against the South, the stronger graginat the weaker, the majority in arms to compel the minority in arms to resist. In this connection, it cases to be a question of slavery, pro or noneth, it cases to be a question of slavery, pro or noneth, it cases to be a question of slavery, pro or noneth, it cases to be a question of slavery, pro or noneth that a suggestion to that effect was promptly rejected by the framers of the Constitution, I am obliged to oppose this war.

Nucleenth—I oppose this war because there is no law authorizing it. These armies operating in the field; this great increase to the standing force of our national deforme; this extensive sea coast and river blockade; the invasion of States, the suspension of her didence; this extensive sea coast and river blockade; the invasion of States, the suspension of her didence; this extensive sea coast and river blockade; the invasion of States, the suspension of her didence; this extensive sea coast and river blockade; the invasion of States, the suspension of the deficiency of the surface of the variety of Haleas Corpus; the seizure and confise at a superaction of private property by military force; citis seen taken by soldiery, and put under metal alrest for trial, for speaking treason; the provest marshal superacting the sheriff; and the drum head taking the place of the jury box; these and many other acts of like character, done by the Fraedent, and the war of the Abidionists and of the Republican party.

The compose the second of the Republican party.

By the strongest appeals to our patriotism, the national sentiment has been throughly roused; the substitute of the produce of the plot, and the wonderful success of the piece? Yes! I who does not know that all steed to

The South is in earnest. I do not say say he is unanimous. I think that the Gulf States are as unanimous to-day as the thirteen States were in 76. The secessionists of the South are proportionally stronger than the whigs of the thirteen Colonies were when they strangled the Tories with one hand, and George the Third with the other. There is as much unanimity there to-day as there was throughout the received in the strangled the Tories with one hand, and George the Third with the other. There is as much unanimity there to-day as there was throughout the feel said an abolition administration, if we clearly a through the Received in the strangled the Received and the strangled Colonies during the Revolution. It is idle, therefore, to talk about unanimity. A large and active number, holding the wealth, and almost all the education of the Gulf States, in their own hands—mark you! not

States have secoded, and mean to secone.

I say, therefore, the South, properly speaking, is in zarnest. She has been considering for thirty years—now she begins to act. She acts harmoniously, earnow she begins to act. She acts harmoniously, ear nestly. The North is only awake. She is not in ear The South knows what she wants; the Nor struggles and gropes her way with a half-formed pur-pose, half understood method. Just this is the weakness I find in the administration. That is the reason why I say the masses have got to decide this battle I hold a statesman to be one who is ready to do all the I hold a stateman to be one who is ready to do all unpeople allow. He is one who drags public sentiment up to its utmost possible efficiency. That is a statesman. I hold a politician to be one who does all the people demand. He yields, he does not lead. He submits, he does not initiate. The administration is ready. It stands looking to the North and the West, and saying, the work of the world with the stands of the North and the West, and saying, the world with the w stands looking to the North and the West, and saying, the letter. But he has a natural and unavoidable tenderness towards the section from which he sprang. What shall I do?" You recollect the modest swain in Dickens's story, who could not muster courage to offer to his lady love, but getting into continuous standards of the passion of the pass. He hopes and trusts that, by moderate weighting." The administration is willing. (Lawebeau) courage to offer to his lady love, but getting into conversation with her favorite, said, "Tell her Barkis is willing." The administration is willing. (Laughter.) We want more. We want an indication that shall ripen public sentiment. We want more. We want an indication that shall ripen public sentiment. We want a proposal—an opening of the channel that shall guide the public thought. The administration propose nothing. They merely cry with the people, "The stars and stripes!" They merely respond to this war-cry of an insulted them that they should show us how we are to be got compromised, balanced, by one powerful, but, at the out of this difficulty. Here are fifteen States in arms same time, known to be treacherous. I am only against the other half of the nation. Ten million of saying of Seward what every man says in Washingagainst the other half of the nation. Ten million of men against twenty. A statesman should boldly probe the wound, scan the cause of the disease, and indicate the remedy. In this sage, after two hundred. With such a man at the head of the administration years of Union, of pulpits and schools, of comm igue and faith, war, except there be momentous

present means: will an army or 200,000, or 600,000, subdue the Gulf States, on our present plan? When they have done it, does the history of the last sixty years render it probable that the Carolinas or Missispipi will stay subdued? Have we a right to found our future on the supposition that the white race of that half of the nation are not as desperate as Poland. they have betrayed, of the Constitution they have disregarded, and of the Laws they have insolently defied, those model citizens now demand of us, and of all men, to march for them to their tune of the Linion, and wange their war of extermination.

I will yield to make the Union, and wange their war of extermination.

I will yield to me man in my love for the Union Heretofore, with my humble pen, to the best of my ability, I have endeavored to serve it. I am not now to be driven from well considered opinions, by the clamors or the threats of those very people who have done so much to overthrow our government and dispensed to the third distracted land, and restore our glorous old Union, cheap indeed would be the purchase, and happy, thrice happy, those patriots on whom the lot should fall. However much of little I may pressure the shound all. However much or little I may pressure to share in these sentiments, I make bold to say, that I will not, under any pretence, aid or scountenance the abominable projects of those, who, having hunted the Union to death, now hound us on to her bloody obsequies and our general ruin.

AN ELEGANT EXTRACT.

accommodating animal, "spite of Mr. Evesett's faith

their respect for historical hedges,—and that Emcon,
even if he brought his favorite susendment to the
Fegitive Stave Bill in his right hand, and vociferated
his pledge of slave-hunting afresh at Cleveland, was
really the picket and outpost of the great abolition
army, taking quarters in the Capitol. "Crush the
viper is his egg" was their war-cry. The argument
of free men had gone against them. They fell back
on the last argument of kings,—cannon. The North
replies—"We should have preferred debate—a free
press—education—ballots; but if you choose bullets,
press—ballots—ballo cipation or division.

What do I ask of the government? I do not as

fence I bow to the masses, and welcome emancipation from yow war.

The South is in earnest. I do not say she is they are not strong enough to do it. We can an manimous. I think that the Gulf States are as nounce it; the people can discuss it; the administra favor the anti-slavery sentiment; we want to be known as a constitutional administration." There is the mis take. There is the fundamental error. Gen. Patt be talk according to the wealth, and almost a childing the wealth, and almost a childing the wealth, and almost a childing the mob, but the men of property, the men of thought, the mob, but the men of influence—and having one half the mob with them, are the State, to all intents and purposes. It is a little finger against a servile insurrections. By the Constitution, they make such a proclamation, they insure they make such a proclamation, it is allke uncalled the numerical majority of the Gulf States wish to the numerical majority of the Gulf States wish to the state all on they make such a proclamation, it is allke uncalled for, illegal, and unconstitutional. What I call on Gen. Scott and President Lincoln to do is, that they shall rebuke their Major Generals when they go out a chall rebuke their Major Generals wh side of the law to propitiate the Slave Power. I wan the scales held even. For sixty years, that of Lib crty has kicked the beam. I call on Lincoln and his Cabinet at least to hold them even. Even fire play to Liberty, under the old Constitution, will be such a change as will quell the South and educate the North. If Gen. Patterson knows no better than to suppres ervile insurrections, cashier him on this side the Potomac. The administration can, should, ought, if Potomac. The administration can, such as, it means liberty, indicate its purpose by these leg constitutional and imperative measures. they not? I will tell you. Liest Gen. Scott is a Southerner. He is seventy-five years old. He is a loyal, honest, devoted friend of the Union, and the (Laughter.) stavration, he can avoid exaperating in escension, on that shall and bring them together again in a harmonious Union-proposal—an Mr. Seward would sacrifice everything for that Union. e the public His are colleagues know he is a traitor; and the not stripes!" fault I find with the administration is, that while merely respond to this war-cry of an insulted in it, those honest elements contained in it, those honest elements suffer themselves to be

and those willing to be his comrades in it, I believe that we owe the absence of compromise this hour to ongue and faith, war, except there be momentous cause, shows our pulpit and school to be failures:

"Excuse us to ourselves, and save us from such chorter hour, if you claim to lead."

Does any man dream, that within any assignable time, we can conquer the Southern States by the present means! Will an army of 200,000, or 500,000, and the fault of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised into disgraceful and ruinous peace is due, more than to any other single man, to the great Senator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised into disgraceful and ruinous peace is due, more than to any other single man, to the great Senator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised into disgraceful and ruinous peace is due, more than to any other single man, to the great Senator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised into disgraceful and ruinous peace is due, more than to any other single man, to the great Senator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised in the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised in the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised to the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised to the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised to the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromised in the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise this form to the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise this form the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise that the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise the Xenator of Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise that the Xenator of New York; to-day, that we have not been compromise that the Xenator of New York; the Xenator of New York; the Yenator of New York; the Xenator of New York; etts, and, more than to any other press, o

hundred presses, to the Tribune of New York city.

What have we to do, under these circumstance

are within the lines of Gen. Scott's arr ernment must indicate its purpose. I clutch it out of them, the slaves will sm when the time comes, it cannot be that we shall export them to Jamaica, we have not the shipping; that we will force them to Hayti, we have no right; that we will send them to die in Liberia, we cannot afford it. To export the working class is suicide. We cannot afford it. we will send them to die in Liberia, we cannot afford it. To export the working class is suicide. We cannot take them North; Pennsylvania has built her wall, tall as the Alleghanies, and forbids it. God grant the first frost may find 500,000 such arguments within our lines—arguments for the administration to declare itself; for, hemmed in on the North by Pennsylvania, on the East by the ocean, on the West by the Mississippi, and above, by loyalty to God, Abraham Lincoln can say nothing clse but this: "The stars and stripes shall float over Virginia, and every black man that sees them may live where he every black man that sees them may live where he was born, certain that while twenty million of men breathe in the North, he never shall find or fear a government will be shut up to emancipation on the soil. Shut the government up to its duty. Send Lane or Montgomery to Memphis, and the black men in their ranks will be double the whites. The decision what to do with these allies settles the slave question. Slavery will never exist again in Virginia, unless the United States Government brings it back. Let the administration compel every General's actions to eat his bad words and fulfil his good ones, as thor-oughly as Butler's have done, and we will wait their further conversion, trusting events awhile. But we and I must prepare the public opinion behind these politicians. We must prepare a public opinion, that, by the 4th day of December, will be ready to sustain Congress in meeting the ultimate issue of this quarrel Suppose you are as brave, as rich, as strong, as per

sistent, as you suppose yourselves to be, while we fight, we have nothing but Mexican wars and South American civilization before us; a conflict of States; perpetual war; the South fighting desperately, on the mountains, ambuscades, guerrilla warfare, but fight-ing. Is that the country we look forward to? Is that the civilization which the North would accept? Never! If our statesmen cannot give us anythetter, mark me! if Europe does not recognize two years, the North will compromise. Northtrade, Northern industry, Northern common se will never suffer such a future for years. The Nor will compromise before she will endure it. Save us from long years of war. Save us, either by emanci-pation or division. Nothing can be worse than years of civil war, demoralizing, weakening, destroying ultimate hope of either a peaceful on a successful deal-ing with the slave question.

And yet, I see the value of this war. I am glad

General Scott has get 200,000 men. I only hope that when Congress is adjourned, he will advance into Virginia, and fight. I do not believe there are 50,000 soldiers on the other side. I believe Beauregard lives, spite of the telegraph, and I believe there are some 40 or 50,000 men with arms, of some sort, in of Virginia—the rest is bravado. But it we Summer, and a dozen like him, she has a right lieve it. She has never met in that Senate or I was craven, or pediar; for what she could not bully, she could always buy. Now, the benefit of this war-the blessing of it—which we shall buy at a million of dollars a day, and cheap at that, is, that we shall beat this saucy Virginia, some half dozen times, into good behavior. We shall convince these incredulous Carolinians that the North can fight when she thinks it worth while; and then, either in the Union, or along side of it, they will live in peace, and treat us properly. They never will until then. General Scott may starve the Gulf States; be never will starve out of them the conviction that New England is coward. That can only be cannonaded out of them, on the sa-cred soil of Virginia (applause); and the lesson which John Brown set the text for, it is for us to write in characters visible from Harper's Ferry to New Or-

My policy, therefore, is, give the administration generous sympathy; give it all the confidence for homesty of purpose you can. They mean now only the Union. That is all they mean at present; but they are "willing" we should make them mean any thing more we please. They are not like Seward-alippery, equivocal, falso. You know the old problem which disturbed the wits of the schoolmen for a thousand years. It was, whether, when a man said, "I lie," he lied or told the truth; for if he uttered the truth, he iled, and if he lied he told the truth. My po icy, there where the property of the control of the property of the propert

nent. ("Shame.") ment ("Shame.")

I know five menths, crowded with great events, have passed since. But such treachery no events are large enough to hide. Free speech is the germ of our history, the corner-stone of our power. Who ever, in Massachusetts, treepasses on free speech, declares war with all our past, and endangers all our future. Everett, in 1888, had the excuse of a stronger pure. Everett, in 1886, and the excuse of a stronger upstation for less infamy. Let no sheen of military iciency blind us to the danger of such an act from e whosh the masses trust. Last March, before a gellattive Committee, I bore my testimony on this int. I do not mean to forfeit the character of twenty of impartial vigilance by silence now. I fee Southey, speaking of an act not so dangerous palliate it would be in vain; to justify it would b "To palliate it would be in vain; to justify the wicked. There is no alternative for one who will not make himself a participator in the guilt, but to record the disgraceful story with sorrow and shame. Why do I mention this? Is a recreant Governor which are to be much consequence? No. Br

setts of so much consequence to No. But a the mouthpiece of the Cabinet at Wash ington—of the men, I mean, who were marked for the Cabinet, when the 4th of March opened. They the Cabinet, when the 4th of March opened. They did what they thought necessary for the welfare of the Republican party. They wrecked it. Your Governor placed himself among those men—ready to do anything to save the party. I said, just now, that er and his like, with the Trib the country. It is because I believe of him, (and I know but some half-dozen others of whom I should dare to say it,) that while he would do anything to serve his country, he gould not do a dishonorable act to save it. When, on the courtrary, a man writes himself down in the other category, whe he shows himself willing to use means h be base, for an end he thinks good, his usefulr og one. I place no confidence, therefore, in the action of that political organization which failed us in the trial hour. I put my faith in the honesty of Abra-ham Lincoln as an individual, in the pledge which a long life has given of Chase's love for the anti-slavery cause; but I do not believe either of them, nor all of them, nor all their comrades, have the boldness to dean emancipation policy, until, by a pressur which we are to create, the country forces them to it.
We are on the one side; the enrolled army of Virginia on the other. A defeat, bloody and cruel, will anger the North into emancipation. A victory, that drives the South into despair, and makes her seek on, may force her govern any means, in her despera ment to emancipation Let us pray for the life of Jefferson Davis! (Laughter.) God grant him long f an army! (Renewed laughter. Hie, and something of an army! (Renewed taugnter. Let us pray that Heaven, or some power, will put into his heart courage, so that he may not run away too soon (merriment); so that out of the contest may come emancipation. A northeaster, that sweeps the ocean clear of every sail, is one thing; the pattering storm, that only makes every man feel unco ther. I think, of late, we have seen the latter kind of warfare, and not the best sort. What we are to ask for is a decisive policy, or th

what we are to sax for is a decisive policy, or the commencement of it. I believe that Wall street wants it; State street wants it. The merchants of fifty and sixty years old, who see their property melting away, who count their losses by hundreds of thousands, have no wish to be in a slave Union again. We have come to a moment when the selfishin wealth is on our side. Rich men, or those late cannot afford to have this war smothered up by con promise or half-way peace; that were to risk another bankruptcy four years hence. The heart of the masses and bank vaults are as one. At a fitting momasses and can't values are as one. At a ment, the government has only to decree justice, and it will see the nation take its place among honorable States, with an uprising as proud and glorious, as hearty and unanimous, as that which awed Europe into sympathy and respect two months ago. This administration holds in its hand the seed of the mighting the state of the Great Readministration tools in its man the second the might-est change of our age—the change of the Great Re-public from hypocrisy into honor. It lies with them to assure the success of this experiment of self-govto assure the success of miss experiment, and make the world our debtors. So far the people have done their full share, rebuking dis-trust from the height of a sublime virtue. Let states trust from the neight of a some witch a great people have forced into their almost reluctant hands. We to any man who balks the hour, or falls to seize the golden opportunity! The curses of one race left in chains—of another mocked in its purpose—of the world ad from the failure of its great free model, shall load

I look at this question only as an Abolitionist. If I stood here on other ground, I should have a great deal else to say. If I stood here as a citizen, I should protest against the criticism by the press of our generals' and celencis—upon the hasty rebuke of a single error, mischance or mistake, of what are called "civil" generals. I have no such fault to find. Our army, hitherto, has been officered—how! Out of every ten, eight were Southerners. Of those eight, four were traitors and two were imbediles; so we have now worth anything. We have now t the criticism by the press of our gen-onels—upon the hasty rebuke of a sin-ischance or mistake, of what are called civilians eivilians; uspractised men, to be sure, but they are "suart" men, cunning New Englanders. They could build a ship on ten days' notice, and translate the New Testament out of the original Greek with a month's schooling. It does not need long to make anything out of a Yankee; and in ten such Yankees, you will flad five that think, each one of them, they shall be President; such will face ambuscades or open batteries for a chance. (Laughter and appla Those men will fight boldly, at least. The othe have reputation, a purpose, and an intention to do their day. You will get two-thirds of the ten decent officers, in the end. Wait awhile: we can afford to seach such men their art on the "secred soil of Virginia." An array, raised at a bound from 25,000 to t among civilians, shall it find nev officers? I see no errors in the last two month which the history of the great Frederic and of Wel officers? I see no errors in the last two montas which the history of the great Frederic and of Wellington does not parallel. I have, therefore, no criticism of the army. I think, if it was not held back, it would have bivouacked at Richmond, and not met a Soathern soldier, either. (Applause.) So that, if I were speaking as a citizen, I should have no fault to find with our levies, with our generals, with the general machinery. They want only a head. They want only a purpose, and that the masses are to give them, not the statesmen. You and I are to begin it. And as I so seldom praise anybody, I certainly may be allowed to say of the N. V. Tribuse, which we so often find fault with, that it has done yecomanly sevice in the last six months. We want a press equally energetic, equally exacting, all over the country; and we want a public opinion here in Massachusetts that shall forget party lines, not fier the purpose of welcoming Bell-Everett or broken-down Democratic statemen into their realts; bug shall is: get party lines, in order to rise to the requisitions of the bour, and tell the open secret on gvery man's lips—merchant, farmer, politician, clergy.

man—that which no man dares print, and no politician avow, but which flashes from every eye, and nestles in every heart. It is, that every man believes this a fight for and against slavery, and intends to strangle it. Why should they not say it? It ought to be said in our Legishture—ought to be said in Congress—ought to be said very soon by the administration.

I could talk a great deal longer, if it were necessations and scarred guard can retire to the said to see the said in Congress—ought to be said very soon by the administration.

ought to be said very soon by the administration.

I could talk a great 'deal longer, if it were necessary (many voices—" Go on!"); but of what use were it? We are all, as I said, afloat. The good God takes the helm out of man's hands, and we have only to be faithful, each in our little place, and let the great spirit of the century lift up our practice to our ideal. These days of anti-slavery gatherings for the purpose of emancipation, I believe, will be soon over. By the Constitution or over it, liberty is sure to come. Our part will soon be to watch for the welfare of this victim race, guard it during its pupilage, over. By the Constitution or over it, liberty is sure to come. Our part will soon be to watch for the wel-fare of this victim race, guard it during its pupilage, shelter it by patronage, by protection, by privilege, by recognizing its claim to an equal manhood. Sooner than we expected, sooner than the most sanguine of us dreamed, this problem is to be decided. How often we have stood under these trees, and some-times talked decorability of the future. Mr. Garrison times talked despondingly of the future! Mr. Garrison once burned the U. S. Constitution on this platform once burned the U. S. Constitution on this platform.
It is now indeed a blurred and tattered parchment
between the cannon of South Carolina and the sides
of fort Sumter. It is gone; the nation aurvives.
The parchment is rent in twain; the people exist.
That people are to shape their government anew
You and I are to have a voice in the moulding. The
part which Henry and Madison, which Hancock and part which Henry and Madison, which Hancock and Adams, played in '87, we are to play to-day. They yielded to the recollection of past suffering, to the fear of present evil, to the prestige of great names, and made an instrument out of which have grown sixty years of lafamy, and now civil war. They planted the dragon's teeth, and, to-day, Boston and South Carolina hold each other by the throat. This is the first-horn child of 1787. To-day we plant fresh seed-Mr. Lincoln and the administration are pausing, waiting. The furrow is opened. The guns are shotted to the lips. They are to be pointed—where? At a miserable rattle-nake flag? At a bankrupt and fugi-

tive cabinet, now in Montgomery and now in Richmond? At a General, of whom half the world doubts his existence? No! Your 250,000 muskets, doubt in exhibit the state of anti-sharery agitation, are to be pointed at the Slave Power. (Applause.) Demolish it! (Renewed applause.) Shame England; waken France; summon Europe to our side by proclaiming that the cause of the North is liberty. proclaiming that the cause of the North is liberty, and our end justice; that no flag, no parchment, is worth shedding a drop of blood, but that four millions of slaves, whom we have outraged for seventy years claim of us this atonement; and whether, in money claim of us this atonement; and whether, in money or in blood, it is to be laid cheerfully on the aitar. Show the world that twenty millions of freemen, the ripe fruit of two hundred years of self-government and Puritanism, are above wars waged for the bauble of a crown, the etiquette of a boundary, or the honor of a flag; that they take the thunderbolt, as God does,

of a rag; that they state the inthertoon, and only to lift up the humble and abase the proud, and execute justice between man and man.

I want to take back that name which I endeavored to write on the forehead of Abraham Lincolo, of Springfield,—"the slave-hound of Illinois"; and instead of it, before the first day of January, 1862, I want to write on that then honored brow, "Liberator of four millions of bondmen; first President of the free United States of America." (Loud applause. Help him to that fame. The Western lawyer is "willing," only he has not the courage to offer (Laughter.) We can help him. Help him by the press. Why, the Boston Atlas has recovered its soul! It speaks brave words. Soon they will let us stand by the left wing of the party. We can save it from being devoured by the Leverett Saltonst and George T. Curtises of a defunct dynasty. And it must be saved, not the party lines, but the heart of it. Massachusetts must send out, not merely men; as usual, she must send out ideas. I take from your Governor no jot of his merit. I tear from his brow no leaf of his laurel. Prompt, efficient, sagacious, foresighted, exact in routine,—I grant it all. He has done well with the military arm of Massachuse But brute force, muskets, Minnie rifles, are not the But brute force, muskets, Minnie rines, are not the real arguments of the old Commonwealth. Virginia can fire a gun—from an ambuscade—and Illinois can muster a regiment; but it is only the Bay State that can remodel an age. It is only the conscience and the brain of Yankees that can upset and set up nations. That was what we were to have done during the winter and what we are to do for the future.

ter, and what we are to do for the future. A momentous hour this. It is a dangerous thing to make speeches in these days. We stand at the part-ing of two roads. A great policy is to be decided this year. It is easy to say that emancipation lies at the end of both roads. No doubt of it. As sure as God enu or boun roads. At doubt of it. As sure as God reigns, the slaves, or most of them, in ten years or five, will be free. But that is sorry consolation for twenty millions of educated, Christian, Republican We ought to be able to handle this problem citizens. We ought to be able to handle this problem
as a tried General handles his troops on the field of
battle,—to secure the result with the least possible suffering. We ought to be able to secure it without half
a dozen years of warfare, without a broken Union,
without exasperated States; and we can so manage it,

if we will. For myself, I put no value on the Union. It is name—nothing more. It is a parchment, stained and bloody. It were enough for me to damn it forever, that Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns bear witness against it on the pavements of Boston. men—some of you—who still linger in your fathers prejudice for the Union. If so, up! gird yourselves demand of the administration that they proclaim eman cipation. There is no other way to save the Union none. If, eighteen months hence, General Scott is encamped, with General Davis against him, in any such shape as now, (as I believe they probably will unless emancipation intervene,) England and France pause.) Mr. Cameron says, "Wherever the flag
goes, trade follows." Oh, better that maxim! Whereever the flag goes, Lineary goes with it, and let trade
take cars of itself. (Applause.) Announce it, and
soon, if there is a majority for the Union, they will
show themselves. Say to the slaveholders, "The
Union shares the loss with you, if it takes your slaves
from you by a military necessity." No matter what it
costs. Belter pay the money to save the sinner from
his sin, than spend a million a day, for five years, in a cruel, useless, and brutal war. One year is enough for manhood; enough to show the character and purpose of the North; any thing more is brutal. The government can prevent it by a word. Call on the honesty of the Cabinet, and bid them banish traitors. If that means the Empire State, banish it. Put into the office of Secretary of State, a man whom Lincoln the office of Secretary of State, a man whom L the office of Secretary of State, a man whom Lincoln will not have to watch. One half of the cierks of the

tion in his hand, as an introduction to you, (loud applause.) asking your votes, perhaps, as Governor was asked to the gubernatorial chair. Yes, I congratulate you that you will soon have a new batch of speakers. The old worn and scarred guard can retire to the rear rank, and the new Major Generals and civilians, who have invented "contrabands," and lawyers who have turned their ingennity into the channel of statesmanship, will be here to swell our jubilee of gratitude; and we will not be careful, then, to divide the degrees of merit, but cheerfully let the last comer take the best prize. (Loud applause.) (Loud applause.)

# The Tiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1861.

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION AT PRAMINGHAM.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held its customary meeting on the Fourth at Harmony Grove, Framingham, which was attended by a harge con-course of people, who testified by their presence their appreciation of the idea which underlies the celebraappreciation of the day, and their sympathy for that reform which would make all the people of the land, as they "of right ought to be, free and independent."

or right ought to be, free and independent.

The day was a charming one, a gentle breeze from
the lake faming the grove, and making the sir, edor
ous with the breath of pines, delicious to the sense
The train from Boston consisted of seven cars, we
filled, while Worcester, Milford, Framingham, an not less than two thousand people, probably, were present, who appeared heartily to enjoy the many charms of the place, and to be deeply interested in the

At eleven o'clock, the assembly was by Mr. Garrison, in the beautiful amphitheatre which seems designed by thoughtful Nature for jus-such purposes, and the following list of officers read which was unanimously ratified by the audien

President-EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham. Vice-Presidents-SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester; Hot N. H. WHITING, Boston; Col. WM. WHITING, Concord; CHARLES L. REMOND, Salem; CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE, West Newton; Mrs. CAROLINE H. DALL DEVERANCE, West Newton; Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, Boston; Gro. Drafer, Hopedale; Abry Keller Foster, Worcester; Benjamin Skow, Jr., Fitch-burg; Hon. O. W. Albre, Marlboro'; John Atres, West Newton.

Secretaries-Chas. K. Whipple, J. M. W. Yer

Finance Committe SARAH E. WALL, Worcester; Mrs. CAROLINE R Dr. J. M. ALDRICH, Fall River PUTNAM, Salem; Dr. J. M. ALDRICH, Fall River WILLIAM BASSETT, Jr., Lynn; RODNEY MOORE, Sla tersville.

REMARKS OF EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ. Mr. Quincy, on coming to the platform to assu he duties of President, said :-

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I believe it has been the stom, at all assemblies which have been held on the Fourth of July, throughout the length and breadth of the land, ever since the Fourth of July has been celebrated, to reciprocate congratulations on the great blessings which we derive from the act of which this day is the anniversary, and the blessings which Heav-en has bestowed upon our country. I think you will all agree with me, that the country never ha more thankful for the Declaration of Indeper to be more thankful for the Declaration of Indepen-dence, or for the blessings which Heaven has showered upon us, as a nation, than we have this day. Espec-ially have we, the Abolitionists, the high priests of freedom in this country,—who have been for thirty years leagued for the destruction of American slave-ry, the great enemy of the principle inaugurated on the Fourth of July, 1775—the right of self-governnent, the right of every individual to life, liberty, ar the pursuit of happiness,—nover had occasion to thank God and take courage more heartily than to-day. Being Speaker, it is not for me to speak to-day; but I cannot help reminding you of the difference which exists in the political condition of this country,—to the change which has taken place, on the surface, at least, of the public sentiment of the North, since we last met er in this grove, a twelve month since. Nav. together in this grove, a tweive month almos. Nay, I meed not go back a twelve month. Let us go back and place ourselves again in the Tremont Temple, at the end of last January—not much more than five months ago—when we were shut out of our property by a mob, led, or at least tailed, by the Mayor of Boston, (laughter,) when it seemed as if the public sentiment of the North was organizing itself into the most crys talline form of pro-slavery, and we were to have the times of '85 acted over again, with increased intensity times of too access over again, with increases michaity. The voice of anti-slavery was silenced all over the country; public meetings were broken up, not only in all the large cities, but in the villages. The hosts of pro-slavery were organized, and concentrated into of pro-slavery were organized, and concentrated into secret societies all over the country, for the express purpose of putting down the discussion of slavery, so that the slaveholders could enjoy their institutions in peace, and their friends at the North, enjoy those rumbs which fall from their master's table, in the shape of Southern trade. What a change has taken place since then! The very men who, within three or four months, were openly befriending the cause of the South,—men who, to my own personal knowledge, were openly maintaining that the slaveholding States were in the right; that they had the right of secession, that they had ample provocation for it, that the North would go with the South, and that they would put down anti-slavery, and the whole country be reedge it; and then, ten or twenty years will clapse before the exasperated States coalesce a second time.

Now, selze time by the forelock; call back to reason the madness of Louisiana and Georgia; amounce that the stars and stripes carry liberty with them. (Applause.) Mr. Cameron says, "Wherever the flag at that time. I think those men have really about 2 put down anti-slavery, and the whole count

country is not so bad as we thought it was twelve months ago; that our countrymen are not so bad as we believed them to be; that they were not ready to

will not have to watch. One half of the clerks of the departments are traitors. Empty them! Mr. Chase knows, in the Northern half of Ohio, men who for nothing, rather than the places should be filled by traitors, would serve the government. I go for decision. Adjourn Congress, and Scott will be decisive. I concède gladly, proudly, fully, the fame of the Lieut. General. I do not want him to die or be superneded. Only adjourn Congress; tell him that all hope for the present Union is over; but that his fame as a General, before he dies, rests on his crushing the viper within six months; and the old man will do it. (Applause.) It is not loyally, it is not ability, it is a nation behind him that he needs. You and I can begin that voice which shall be echoed from the Mississippi, and compel the government to speak. Men whisper to us in the streets, in our chambers, what General Butter means here, and Mr. Camerpn there, and Mr. Chase elsewhere:—we want it proclaimed. We want it known to you, voted on, enforced; and the next time we meet here, you will not need me to make a speech. humiliating themselves to mighty change. Who would have thought, six months ago, th

rvices to the slaveholder to put down slave insuctions, or to promise that any such attempt should mriosities, and where moral and political impossibility, as much as a reason of the colored people of Massachusetts to take possession of the country. Yet those men made this statement for the sake of political effect; but now, one of those very gentlemen, making use of his legal acumen, and that skill which he has learned in the defence of criminals, hivents a legal quibble, by which the fugitives are regarded as "contraband of war," as entrenching tools, and the President and Cabinet as entrenching tools, and the President and Cabinet as the interpretation of the law. It is perthe inguives are regarded as entrenching tools, and the President and Cabinet gladly accept his interpretation of the law. It is perfectly true that the government does not lead the people; it is led or driven by the people. The people have already driven the Cabinet far in advance of the ground they intended to occupy; and it only remains for the North to know what it wants, and be resolute and determined to have it, and the Cabinet and the

The Abolitionists are charged with having produced this state of things, and it is true. We accept, it. We acknowledge that the anti-slavery movement is responsible for the present state of things in this country, and we thank God for it. The American Anti-Slavery Society, at this moment, has for its Office Agent—who? Abraham Lincoln, at the White House. (Laughter.) And it has for its General Agent, in the field—who? Licutenant-General Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. (Applause and laughter.) Whether willingly or unwillingly, they are doing the will of the Abolitionists. I fear they do it unwillingly. But, whether willingly or unwillingly, they are doing it, must continue to do it, and do it more and more thoroughly, as the heart and mind of the North are more and more resolved that this quarrel shall not be actiled upon any basis The Abolitionists are charged with having pro that this quarrel shall not be settled upon any basis except the abolition of slavery, (Applause.) A hymn entitled "Secession," by Rey. Mark Traf-ton, was then sung, to the tune of "Auld lang syne,"

after which, E. H. HEYWOOD addressed the audience in an earnest and interesting speech, which was heard with manifest pleasure, and frequently and loudly ap

SPEECH OF REV. JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE. Rev. James FREEMAN CLARKE, of Boston, was

roduced, who spoke as follows:-The two gentlemen who have just spoken The two gentlemen who have just spoken began by saying that they were not going to make a speech, and then they went on and made two very good speeches. I should like to try the same experiment. I am not going to make a speech. (Laughter.) Perhaps by saying that, I shall enable myself to make one. It is now eighty-flev years since our fathers made the Declaration of Independence, and put their names to it. We have met here to-day, as the American shall be a perhaps the laws. people have been meeting every year during this long period, to celebrate—what? An action, a battle, a conquest, a victory, an achieved independence? By no means. We do not celebrate the success. The American people do not celebrate the success. The American people do not meet to celebrate the day when the British nation acknowledged, through its government, that we were free and independent. But we meet, and the American result is a success. government, that we were the min melephone.

we meet, and the American people, led by a sure instinct, have been in the habit of meeting, year after year, to celebrate the day upon which it was declared that American and the American States, "of right were and ought to be free and independent." That it was have probleming not an echievement, but is, we have been celebrating, not an achievement, but a conviction, all that long time. I ask you, friends, whether there is not something in that? Ought we not to be thankful, when we recollect that all along through these many years, the whole American pe ple have been celebrating the day, not on which ple that occur centains and which a right was uttered? I think you have a right especially to celebrate this day. You have believed, all along, in the right, and in the utterance of the right. You have has been simply the utterance, in one form and in another form, of that one idea, that nobody has a right to hold his brother as a slave. When people right to hold his brother as a slave. When people said to you, "But what are you going to do with the negroes?" you replied, "Nobody has a right to hold another as a slave." And when they said, "Why, do you want to have insurrections, and to have the throats cut of the masters and mistresses?" you have replied, "Nobody has a right to hold any one as a slave." And when they have said, "What are you going to do with the compromises of the Constitution?" you have replied, "It is not right to hold anybody as a slave." That has been your work, that has been your mission; and by means of that, you have done your part in hastening forward the day when no done your part in hastening forward the day when no foot that is not free shall tread the soil of this great

But it was not enough that, on the 4th of July, 1776, our fathers should declare that these States 1776, our lathers should declare that these States ought to be independent. They had to go and fight for it, and to work for it; and so, seven years after, in 1783, they succeeded in attaining the victory. And then, after that, something else had to be done. They had to organize their conquest, and then came the formation of the Federal Constitution. That was a cover different set from curving out the idea of indevery different act from carrying out the idea of inde-pendence and liberty. They had to turn themselves pendence and liberty. They had to turn themselves round, look in an opposite direction, and undertake to do an entirely different work—namely, to put together that which they had succeeded in gaining—to frame a scheme of government. Instead of looking af free-dom, they began to look at order. They said, "Now, we are in a different danger. It is not being enslaved by a foreign government, but in anarchy at home, and by a foreign government, but in anarchy at home, and we must contrive to make some kind of arrangement by which we shall have order among ourselves." Well, the moment the people began to organize, they began to compromise. "I want to have this element inserted in the Constitution, and you want that elestep by step, organizing and compromising, compro-

is a pro-slavery document. So it is.

at it from one side, it is a pro-slavery document; but,

have always thought, it is, also, when you look

nething like that, it seems to me, is the institution. We have, in the first place, as to be like one government; but when to examine it closely, you will find that ent of lib e were two histile elements—the element of lib-and the element of slavery—joined together in We have, for instance, three places in the Consti-on where there is a recognition of slavery—a t and a doubtful recognition, as of those who were amed of slavery, and did not want it in the Con-tion, but did not know very well how they should seed to covarying a government unless they ads to have as little the appear-sible. So, in the first article,

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be tioned among the several States which may cluded within this Union according to their rea numbers, which shall be determined by adding whole number of free persons, including those to service for a term of years, and excluding I not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

That meant slaves, as you know; and you know great a fire that little matter has kindled.

Then they went on, and in the fourth section of the ne article, they declared, "that the migration or portation of such persons as any of the States now importation of such persons as any of the existing shall not be pro-biblied by the Congress prior to the year 1808." Well, that meant, that the slave trade should not be pronibited until after 1808, but it is stated in a modest and

Then, as the third pro-slavery element in the Con titution, we have the famous clause which has been often quoted in regard to the return of fugitives:-

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another; shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Art. 4, sec. 2.

You see how awkward that is; how very much fraid they were to say what they meant. I suppose here is no doubt that they did mean to return figitive there is no doubt that they did mean to return fugitively slaves, but they did not venture to say it. They plastered it over and painted it over, as well as they could tered it over and painted it over, as well as they could. They, in fact, expressed it is such a way as to make it grammatically mean the exact opposite of what they intended, because the nominative of those verbs, "shall be discharged," is "no person"; so that, grammatically, that famous clause means that the fugitive slave shall not, on the one hand, be "discharged from service or labor," and, on the other hand, shall not be "delivered up"; and if it had been in favor of the South instead of in favor if it had been in favor of the South, instead of in favor of the North, that grammatical construction would have been brought out fifty years ago, and the whole of that article would have been thrown under the of the speaker, never to come out again. The South would have said, "People should say what they mean; and if they meant that the fugitive slave should be given up, they should have said so, but they have said that he shall not be given up." That is what the South would have said, but we never referred to that fact. I allude to that only to show the way in which, in the organization of the government, this element of sla-very was introduced, along with the many elements of freedom introduced there.

But this was not all. We have not only in the Constitution this double star—the black star of slavery and the brilliant orb of freedom—but we have another and the oriman or of the cooling an antagonism, just as real and just as striking. It is a quadruple star. You know very well it was not Mr. Calhoun who first asserted the doctrine of nullification, and, as a consequence to that, the doctrine of se-cession. So long ago as the year 1798, those great Southern statesmen, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, in the Virginia resolutions of 1798, laid down, en tically, the do octrine of nullification. Mr. Everett pnatically, the doctrine of mullification. Mr. Everett, in his speech in New York, undertakes to explain away that fact. The fact stands, that the doctrine of nullification, with secession connected necessarily with right, and in the uncerance of the right. Tou have made it your policy to declare this one fact to the people of the land—that no man has a right to hold his brother as a slave. You have declared it over and over again, and the whole stock which you have had natural interpretation of the Constitution. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison said that the States were, by the has been simply the utterance, in one form and in son and Mr. Manison saut that the States were, by the Constitution, parties to a compact; that the Constitu-tion was a compact; and that, when the parties to that compact differed as regards its interpretation, and there was no authorized person to decide between them, each must decide for himself, on his own responsibilty; and that the Federal Court, being a part of one o the parties to the compact, had no right to decide as against the claim of either of the States; therefore, that a State had a right to decide for itself that any act of the Federal Government was unconstitution and the Federal Government, on the other hand, had a right to decide for itself the same thing.

The doctrine of nullification was laid down in the esolutions by these great statesmen, with secession connected with it. You know very well that it was connected with it. You know very wen than it was the doctrine of the whole Democratic party at that time. The Federal party, at that time, took its stand on the antagonistic doctrine. The Federal party had for its object, to defend the power of the Federal Government, as ngainst the independent claims of the States. The Democratic party had for its object and leading their the majoranare of the rights of the leading idea, the maintenance of the rights of the States, as against the General Government. In other words, the Federal party, at that time, took the ground which the whole North takes to-day; and the Demowhich the whole North takes to-day; and the Demo-cratic party, at that time, took the ground which the South almost universally takes to-day. Well, there was a split. There was in the Constitution evidently a primal crack, preparatory to a future split. The Federal party seemed to be conquered, put down by the Democrats. It was supposed that that controversy was brought wholly to an end; and yet we see to-day great armies in the field, plitted against each other on great armies in the field, pitted against each of the avowed ground of deciding that question of conthe avowed ground of deciding that question of conthe avowed ground although the motive may be al law; because, although the different, although we may have an anti-siz Well, the moment the people began to organize, they began to compromise. "I wait to have this element timested in the Constitution, and you want that element inserted. Now, how shall we manage? Why, we won't put in the whole of yours, or the whole of mine, but a little of each." And so they went on, step by step, organizing and compromising, comprosibility and corrections and at least we had the Redder to the found in that old radical question which broke ral Constitution.

Now, it has been the habit of many of the anti-salvery people to say that the Federal Constitution is a pro-slavery document. So it is. When you look at its from one side, it is a pro-slavery document.

is a pro-slavery document. So it is. When you look at it from another side, an anti-slavery document, but, as I have always thought, it is, also, when you look at it from another side, an anti-slavery document. My notion about the Federal Constitution is, that it is both pro-slavery and anti-slavery. In other words that it is an inconsistent document. There were things put together for the sake of having a Union, that did not really fit, that could not be made to fit. These timbers would not go quite together, and so they had to be put as near together as they could be made to go, and nailed together as well as they could be fastened, and then plastered over, then painted over, and covered up, and the whole was made to look like one substantial building. But by and by cracks began to appear, and then it was found that, after all, there was not-that sort of unity that was at first anticipated.

If you look over head at night, you will see, about this season of the year, a lovely star glittering with a blue light in the region of the firmament over you—a star of the constellation Lyra. Near that star, there are two other stars, making a little equilateral triangle. If you examine one of those stars, which seems to be a single orb, with a telescope of low power, you will find that, instead of its being a single star, it is, a quadruple star; and instead of having one or two stars, you have in fact two pairs of stars, of exquisite in little points, and near them, two other little exquisite points, the whole revolving round each other, and the points, the whole revolving round each other, and the points, the whole revolving round each other, and the power to arrange their government and its laws according to their own convictions of inject.

which swept over all aristocracy in the State, and aristocracy in the Church, and which has given a to see, for so many years, in this country, a people with without any standing army, was able to maintain by which, with scarcely a visible police, was able to people years are correctly which, without an ecclesiastical enables ment, was able to have a universal church; and a which every child, whether of the poor Irah emission just landed on the shore, or of the millionairs, was able to be educated to such a point, that every check it the land was open to his talent. That was the best charge of the poor in the state of the poor in the poor in the state of the poor in the poor in the poor in the poor in the poor i the land was open to his talent. That was the brast and arms of silver—the frame-work of his some ment—able to effect all that, and effect it to lear All government rests on force, ultimately, and has fore you have iron in the legs. But when you one to the feet, the feet were part of iron and par There was a fatal antagonism of strength a ness. The strength of freedom and the we slavery combined in the feet of our golder and we now see its fall, because of that crigins &

But to-day, the queries now reached that park as they are, and we having now reached that park which these ideas have at last appeared in the len which these more nave at last appeared in the ten of hostile armics,—what is our duty, and what or we do? The other night, as we looked at the barron addenly that magnificent comet, that splea-ominous portent, on the side of the North North Star on one side and the we saw suddenly that magnificent comet, that ples did and ominous portent, on the side of the North with the North Star on one side and the Norther with the North Star on one side and the Northern Bear on the other: ominous to every Southern eyed the impending force which was to come from the North, which was to come from freedom, to resist the North, which was to come from freedom, to res assaults of slavery. It was the very come of a apparently, Milton spoke, when he said that it

"fires the length of Ophineus huge
In the Arctic sky, and from his herrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war."

But that came unexpected. No astronomer had foretold it. So has this war come unexpected. No political astronomer was able to forese, six months ago, what was coming. Nobody foreaw it; and yet that comet has not come by miracle. It has been that the property of the surprises between the state of the surprises between the surprises be irawn along by the sure laws of the universe, by the drawn along by the sure laws of the universe, by the everlasting force which God has impressed upon nater. It has been drawn along from the upward along of space, year after year, along its sure orbit, slowly moving toward the sun, but with a gradually accelerated rate, until at last it comes plunging down directly at the face of the great orb of day. But it is all lar. It is not accident; it is will, it is law. And so the great conflict to-day has taken us by surprise, and has ne unexpected; but it has come by law; it was income unexpected; but it has come by law; it was nevitable. There have been times when it might have been prevented. The North might have preused it, years ago, if they had refused to admit Missout at a slave State. Years after that, it might have been a slave State. prevented, if they had refused to admit Texas in the Union as a slave State; and years after, if they had resisted the compromises of 1850. I know not how long it might have been arrested. It might have en turned aside. This new force might have into duced another attraction, and sent it off in south direction. War need not have come, if we had been faithful to every duty in the past; but it has come, and what is our duty now! The duty of anti-datesy men to-day is, to do that which nobody che will do. Your anti-slavery men are those who remember he slave. Nobody else remembers the slave today; its your duty to remember him. Nobody else remem-bers the four millions whose whole destiny is involved in the termination given to this conflict. It is for you to remember the destiny of these four millions. It is for you to remind the people of the land that there can be no secure peace, that the whole struggs will be thrown away, that all the walth and all the blood which we lavish in this war will go for nothing, unless we are enabled to obtain such guaranties of the weakness of the South and of the Slave Power, that it shall never be able to rise again to resist the power of freedom. How can these guaranties be obt There are no guaranties that I know of, except the guarantly of emancipation. There is nothing else. If we come out of this war with fifteen slave State, to are sure to have another war, by and by, some a later. The only guaranty that this nation can lare, squandering their money in defence of the Union, is only guaranty which the fathers and mothers who as og their sons to die on the field of battle of have against having to do the whole work over aga, is to be found in emancipation. I do not say that is necessary to have the guaranty, for this purpose of the emancipation of all the slaves of the South; is 1 do say, that sensible, practical men at the Nora, who only care for the Union, and do not care one is for anti-slavery, can be made to see, if proper pass are taken, that it is absolutely necessary, in order a realize any good from this great struggle, that it sale realize any good from this great struggle, that had end at last in the emancipation of the slaves of the border States. They can be made to see that at they ought to be made to see it. That is not ex-rying out the anti-slavery principle, which demands the emancipation of every slave, down to the last; emancipation of every slave, down to the last; but it is taking a great practical step in that direction and a step which, once taken, will necessitate all the and a step which, once taken, will necessitate an ac-rest. And that step, it seems to me, every sensib business man, all over the North, may be convined must be taken, if they are not to throw away all they are doing, and have it all go for nothing. This was the substance of what I wanted to sp. Only this other thing: I think it is our day, also,

only into due, the movements of Providence. We cannot help it very well. We cannot help seeing that is has taken this matter into his own hands. We are onts of Providence. not help recognizing the fact, that we are all of mon not help recognizing the fact, that we are not use a great current, drifting on together, we cannot he where, and we hardly know what is to be the nesh. We can exert ourselves a little; we can do our dry, and God may, from these efforts, produce great is sults, by and by. But it is very evident that of the contraction of the contracti ower consists now in recognizing the divise present this work, and in that strength going forward, fill of courage, full of hope, full of confidence, recruing, through this whole strange history, the reason power of ideas, seeing how every true idea as her or later, ripen into fact, and so having a and more confidence in that great moral road which you laid as the basis of your movement principle of everlasting justice and eternal at

(Apprause.)

The President then introduced the Rer. Mr. Mo.
LIGAN, of Michigan, as a minister of the Cher
which had anticipated the American Anti-Storie
Society in the enunciation of its great principe. "It
union with slaveholders," and had remande facilities
to the cause of impartial freedom to the present he to the cause of impartial freedom to the present and Mr. MULLIGAN said he was glad to be present so many of the friends of the slave, as the representive of a people who believed that the trac character of the opposed. He then provide speak upon slavery and the present constitution of the slave, and Carlot to the country, taking a text of Scripture as the last & remarks, and making an application of the Salve count of the opening of the fifth seal to the crust the present hour. He concluded his remarks and . He concluded his rema the present hour. He concluded his remark by ing, that until we determine to cut oursers as from national iniquity, until we plant come can never make successful battle upon the grad

tem of slavery.

A. "Song of Freedom" was then sung to be set of "Scots wha hae," and the meeting adjusted a re-assemble again at 2 o clock.

AFTERNOON. The meeting was o 2 o'clock, and a hymn by Augustine Calivel, s "Liberty for all," was sung, after which S. MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Massachusta. MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Massachus Slavery Society, made an earnest appeal for "help the cause along." He referred to the ful change which has taken place in public swithin a few months, and urged upon his he duty of continued, activity and faithfulness, that this change might be made to result in done of the slave. The slumber, said he, is a

and well-wishers.

Now friends, continued Mr. M., these are hard Now menus, continued air. M., these are hard times, and thank God for them! I am glad a time las come when we are all called upon to make some serifices—when these who are poor feel pogrer than ever, and all are straightened in some way or other. Still, let us see to it that the old cause shall not be ed. Let us see to it that it shall have the propiets to see the second out agents, publish tracts, and send forth is papers, and keep its moral testimony alive, vigorous and faithful, until slavery breathes its last breath. That, I am sure, you will do, and do it now.

The names of the Finance Committee were then The names of their important duty, with gratifying results, the collection amounting to the handsome sum of \$185.15.

MEXPELL PRILLIPS, Esq., was then introduced, and received with hearty applause. His speech will be found in another part of this paper. It was characteristics. ed by his would eloquence, and warmly applaude STEPHEN S. FOSTER was the next speaker. He

said that, in the new and very interesting aspect of public affairs, he thought it became them to utter their opinion publicly in regard to the duty of Abolitionists in this new position. He had accordingly hastily drawn up two resolutions, expressive of what he believed to be the real sentiments of the Abolitionists of New England at the present time, viz. :— New England at the present time, viz.:-

Resolved, That, as citizens deeply interested in the honor and welfare of our common country, fre earn estly ask and demand of our national government that once proclaim an act of emancipation to all ou neslaved countrymen, wherever held, as the only hon orable, just and efficient means of settling our presen national troubles, and establishing our Union upon a

solid and enduring basis.

Resolved, That until the government shall take this step, and place itself openly and unequivocally on the side of freedom, we can give it no support or counte-nance in its effort to maintain its authority over the reded States, but must continue to labor, as we have hitherto done, to heap upon it that oblodby which nat-urally attaches to all who are guilty of the crime of enslaving their fellow-men.

Mr. Foster said that, as he believed the resolution expressed the sentiments of the meeting, he should not attempt to discuss them at that time. He could motation to the second for supporting the government now that did not exist twelve months ago. It was only as "goods and chattels" that his fellow-men were received under the protection of the United States. Not I they were received and protected as men, at all ards, would he give one cent of his money or one

agains, would be give one cent of his money or one drop of his blood for the support of the government. Mr. F. did not agree with Mr. Phillips that the abo-lition of slavery would break the Union to pieces. He still held to the doctrine that "righteousness exalteth anation." He believed that the present administrass exalteth ation could do no act so honorable to itself or so bene ficial to the country, as to proclaim emancipation. The whole matter would then be honorably and per The whole matter would then be honorably and per-manently settled. He was sorry that Mr. Phillips seemed to have loss his confidence in the safety and practicability of impartial justice. He [Mr. F.] did t know why he should hesitate for a moment to require the government to proclaim immediate emanci-pation. Mr. Phillips had said the President was not strong enough to do justice; then let him resign and go rather than practise injustice. When a man liberty," he must mean liberty, or he was not the man for him. When a man sat upon the benel and claimed to execute justice, he must execute jus tice, or not ask any support from him. He was sur-prised to hear Mr. Phillips speak of President Lincoln as "an honest man." He supposed he did not mean what he said, but meant "an honest slaycholder"—if that was not a paradox; that is, that when he swore to support the Constitution, with all its pro-slavery guarantees, he meant honestly to keep his oath. He rished to dissent, also, from the sentiment of Mr Phillips, when he expressed his willingness to have the government pay for the slaves. He would never onsent to pay the sinner to cease from his sin, and was unalterably opposed to paying one single dollar to saybody for the abolition of slavery.

Mrs. A. R. FOSTER rose to second the resolutions.

She hoped they would be put to vote, for she thought it would be a discredit to the 'Abolitionists of New England if they should adjourn without giving a cer-tain and unmistakable voice to their feelings, which might be published throughout the length and breadth

or or be re ma it of utilities to all he mande to the most of the court of the cour

Rev. E. Davis, of Fitchburg, asked that the que Nev. E. DAVIS, of Fitchburg, asked that the ques-tion might be taken on the resolutions separately. He believed that the Abolitionists should insist upon im-mediate emancipation as the only righteous and just method of settling, this question, and bringing the war to a close. There might be differences of opinion in first would meet their earnest approval, and that they would not only pass it there, but carry it with them to their several fields of labor. He was calling attention to the subject in that portion of the State where he lived, and probably a number of petitions would be sent to Congress, setting forth the duty of emancipation as the only hopeful, just and rightful method

The question was then put on the first resolution, and it was adopted, without dissent.

Dr. Mann, of Sterling, suggested that the latter clause of the second resolution might be omitted. Mr. Dávis inquired whether, if they differed in retion, it was w passage. Some (among whom he judged Mr. Phillips was to be numbered) would go for upholding and sup-porting the government in every way possible, because it was working for the emancipation of the slave. He thought it would be better to press home the principle of emancipation, rather than find fault with the gov-HENRY C. WRIGHT said they were called upon t

heap opprobrium on the government as a pro-slavery government, while, in all the seceded States, the U.S. government, white, in all the second states, govern government is regarded as an anti-slavery govern ment. Every man, said Mr. W., who says a word for the Constitution of the U.S., is an Abolitionist in fif teen States of this nation; and if my friend Mr. Fos-ter were to go into any Southern State, and say a word in favor of the Constitution of the U.S., he (Applause.) But, to day, when thousands of tongues word in favor of the Constitution of the U.S., be would receive the doom of a traitor to slavery. Let appear man in the Southern States open his mouth in favor of the stars and stripes of the Union, and he would be treated as an Abolitionist. Mr. Foster believes the Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, no does Charles Summer, and so do multitudes of the prople of the North.—so that all the slave States repard the U.S. government as an anti-slavery government, and multitudes of the people of the North and the pro-lavery part of the country declares to be anti-slavery? Pour business is to get the people to regard the government as an anti-slavery? Pour business is to get the people to regard the government as an anti-slavery? Pour business is to get the people to regard the government as an anti-slavery? Pour business is to get the people to regard the government as an anti-slavery? Pour business is to get the people to regard the government as an anti-slavery? Pour business is to get the people of the North, stirring the entire North into opposition to slavery, and I believe that, in one year, we shall see the day when the Northern States will understand this war to be against slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth, and in favor of slavery on the part of the Korth and South, like the part of the total the part of the total the

for them to be passing resolutions declaring that they did not support the national administration. Nobody expected that the Abolitionists would support the ad-ministration and the support the administration under the Constitution of the U.S. They never had done it, and did not calculate to support any administration until it was thoroughly and openly on ing such a resolution, to inform the Boston Courier, whom nobody believed or cared for, what they were going to do. The administration represented the North as no other administration had ever done, and had more of the love of freedom in it fthough factors. less than they desired) than any other administration since this great question came under discussion; and since this great question cannot under understanding the would not pass a resolution saying that they would load it with obloquy. As Mr. Phillips had said, if the Northern people backed up the administration, it might be that they would declare emancipation, and throw the door wide open for the fugitive. At any rate, it was the duty of Abolitionists to watch the crisis and as for as possible, to encourage every good sis, and, as far as possible, to encourage every good purpose; and he thought the resolution already passed might have a power which would be taken out of it, if they consented to the reason of they consented to the passage of an ugly threat like that embodied in the second resolution immediately

Mr. WRIGHT moved to lay the resolution on the

Mr. Foster rose to speak, but was called to order by Mr. C. L. REMOND, on the ground that a motion to lay on the table is not debatable, and Mr. F. re-sumed his seat.

The motion to lay on the table was then put, and

Mr. Foster immediately called up the resolution again, and proceeded to speak upon it. He said that the position of the Abolitionists was not so clearly understood as Mr. May seemed to suppose. Ther were hundreds who supposed that the Abolitionists had changed their views of the government. If he un-derstood the remarks that had been made upon that platform, they had, with one accord, not in words, but piatorm, they had, with one accord, not in words, but in substance, urged the people to come up and adopt the war conducted by the present administration as the great means of emancipating the slaves of this coun-try. What was the effect of Mr. Phillips's remarks to-day? He had understood him to say, "Let us give the administration our sympathy." He believed that the public inferred, and had a right to infer, from the course of the Liberator and Standard, and from the fact of the postponement of the accustomed anniversaries this year, that the Abolitionists were heart and soul in this war. He was afraid they were. He was afraid the Abolitionists had been seduced from their allegiance to principle, and been induced to give the government which they had opposed for twenty years, and which declares it has made no change in its position since that time. He took it the administration did not lie, for, according to Mr. Philadministration due not ne, for, accepting to art. Fini-lips, they were all honest, except Seward, and they had declared their purpose to be, to execute the Con-stitution of the United States, that "covenant with death and agreement with hell," at the cannon's They had called the beauty and strength and power of the North to put down slave insurrec-tions, to protect a capital which to-day is used for the sale of American women for the vilest of purposes and hunt fugitives, if they happen to be the slaves of "loyal" citizens. Should they not heap obloquy upon such a government? He held them to be guilty over every other administration, in that, in the very ty of their calamity, they perpetrated the which have disgraced the country for the last

The acting President (Mr. Max) said he felt compelled, in consequence of the limited time that re-mained before the necessary adjournment of the meeting, to interrupt the speaker. He thought that, after ing, to interrupt the speaker. He thought that, after the audience had so decisively expressed their opin-ion by laying the resolution on the table, it was not right for Mr. Foster to occupy the time by telling them they were wrong, and giving his reasons. (Ap-

Mr. Foster replied, that they had been told all Mr. Foster replied, that they had been tout at day that they were right, and he didn't believe it had done the least bit of good; now, if they should be told that they were wrong, and the reasons given, they might be benefitted by it. But as that platform had der the plastic touch of liberty; and for the nation to make the plastic touch of liberty and for the nation to make the plastic touch of liberty and for the nation to make the plastic touch of liberty and for the nation to make the plastic touch of liberty and for the nation to make the plastic touch of liberty and for the nation to make the plastic touch of become like all others, and there was no freedom for those who differed from the sentiments which had been expressed there, he should leave it to those who had occupied it all day. The voice of the Abolition-ists would be stifled in the press and on the platform in the country. He had hoped that there might be a in the country. He had hoped that there might be a fair expression of opinion of those who dissent from the policy of giving support and countenance to the war. He knew there were many earnest, houest friends of freedom, who deeply lamented the course of the Society, but he was aware that they would have to adopt some other channel for the expression of the society, but he whom which their feelings are the south. Yet, I pray you to remember that the south.

specimen of the way in which friend Foster was gag-ged. He had spoken two or three times, and one of his resolutions had been adopted, but because they would not hear him four times, five times, he said he

Mr. Fosten attempted to reply, but the confusion was so great that he could not be heard, and in a few moments, he left the platform.

cannot make myself distinctly heard, and I am sure it can give others no pleasure to hear me, if my voice comes to them broken and faint. I have, therefore, been silent during the day; always, indeed, preferring to hear others, rather than myself. My time to speak was thirty years ago, and I improved the opportunity. (Applause.) But, to day, when thousands of tongues are loosed to plead the glorious cause of universal freedom, why should I be called to take this stand? "To gild refined gold, to paint the lily, is wasteful and ridleuplous excess."; and in this roar of cannon

the part of the South. Our duty is to convince the people that slavery is the cause of all our troubles.

Dr. Many said be did not object to the first portion of the resolution. As long as the administration sustained an equivocal position, and they did not know what its purpose was, they could not commit themselves to its support, and might properly say so. He objected to the last clause, because he took it for granted that the administration was determined to apport slavery, which they did not know. They did not know but that it was the ultimate purpose of the administration to proclaim emancipation.

Sanuer May, Jr., thought it was quite grantious

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Sanuer May, Jr., thought it was quite grantious

immediately let the slaves of the South go Scott free! (Laughter and applause.)

There are those who say that the war is not waged to abolish slavery. Granted! They say it is to uphold the flag. Granted! It is to maintain the government Granted! But this is certain—the government and the flag,—as my friend, Mr. Wright, so justly observed,—are now regarded with flerce malignity and unconquerable hatred by the slave oligarchy, and utterly repudiated by them; and, for one, in this anomalous state of things, I do not feel disposed to be severely critical upon President Lincoln,—at least, as long as he makes himself an outlaw south of Mason and Dixon's line, in company with myself! (Applause.) Indeed, after so long a time, I am getting into very respectable society. (Laughter.) Even Edward Everett, to day, in the city of New York, utters language which would make it perilous for him to language which would make it perilous for him t show himself in any part of the Southern Confede language which would make it perilous for him to show himself in any part of the Southern Confede-racy. So, whether he likes it or not, he stands by my side, involved in the same condemnation; and they would give him a coat of tar and feathers as readily as they would me. "This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes." (Applause.) I cannot say that I do not sympathize with the

I cannot say that I do not sympathic with the government, as against Jefferson Davis and his piratical associates. There is not a drop of blood in my veins, both as an abolitionist and a peace man, that does not flow with the Northern tide of sentiment for I see, in this grand uprising of the manbood of the North, which has been so long grovelling in the dust, a growing appreciation of the value of liberty and of free institutions, and a willingness to make any sacrifice in their defence against the barbaric and tyranrifice in their defence against the barbaric and tyras rifice in their defence against the barbaric and tyrannical power which avows its purpose, if it can, to
crush them entirely out of existence. When the government shall succeed (if it shall succeed) in "conquering a peace," in subjugating the South, and shall
undertake to carry out the Constitution as of old,
with all its pro-slavery compromises, then will be my
time to criticise, reprove and condemn; then will be
the time for me to green all the guns that I can bring to the time for me to open all the guns that I can bring to upon it. But, blessed be God, that "covenant in death" has been annulled, and that "agreement with hell" no longer stands. I joyfully accep fact and leave all verbal criticism until a more suita e opportunity. There is no American Union as therto. Eleven of the slave States are in the Southern Confederacy, and the government maintains its power over the others only by Northern bayonets. All the slave States are a unit, except so far as they the old Union! Subjugation and conquest are fraternity and peace! And we shall not again un though in saying this, I frankly declare that my faith is not so much in the virtue of the North as in the diabolism of the South. ("Hear, hear.") It is be cause God has "given them over to believe a lie, tha hey may be damn ed"-and their damnation is sure.

Under these circumstances, I take great cours and am full of hope. I should cry, "Shame to the people of the North!" if they did not, with their principles, and their ideas of government, come up to the support of the administration, offering all they have of blood and treasure, until this band of cor spirators shall be put down, and slavery utterly oblit-erated. What wg ought to do is to take the resolu-tion we have just adopted, put it into our hearts, plead for it everywhere, and create a great Northern sentiment, which shall irresistibly demand of the administration, under the war power, the emancip of every slave in the land; and then God will

or every saive in the init, and then to the first time, a "great and glorious Union." (Applause.)
Oh, Mr. President, how it delights my heart when I think that the worst thing we propose to do for the South is the very best thing that God or men can do! That while they are confiscating our property, refus ing to pay their honest Northern debts, covering th ering, hanging, and driving out innocent Northern citizens from their borders, all we threaten to do, in citizens from their borders, all we threaten to do, in the excess of our wrath, as a retaliatory measure, is to abolish their iniquitous and destructive slave system, and thus give them light for darkness, good for evil, heaven for perdition. I (Loud applause.) Yes, we will make it possible for them to be a happy and prosper-ous people, as they never have been, and never can be, with slavery. We will make it possible for them to suredly, we have no emnity to the South; the is on the other side. Liberty knows how to nanimous, forbearing, long-suffering, patient, hopeful and therefore it is that, in the very wintern men as safe-is now sweeping over the land, Southern men as safe-ly reside among us as they ever did. They are not threatened with tar and feathers, nor compelled to flee slaveholders are just as merciful and forbearing as had heretofore found utterance.

Mr. May remarked that the audience had here a specimen of the way in which friend Foster was gagrible exigencies in which, as slaveholders, they are placed. They are men of like passions with ourselves; they are of our common country; and if we had been brought up in the midst of slavery, as they have been, -if we had our property in slaves, as they have,-if we had had the same training and education that they have received,—of course, we should have been just as much disposed to do all in our power to support slawas so great that he could not be heard, and in a few moments, he left the platform.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Garrison was loudly called for, and came forward to address the audience. He was welcomed in the most cordial manner, and when the cheering had subsided, spoke as follows:—

Mr. President,—I have not attempted to address an audience for the last ten months, in consequence of a bronchial difficulty, from which I have been slowly recovering. It gives me no pleasure to speak when I cannot make myself distinctly heard, and I am sure it can give others no pleasure to hear me, if my voice sas. Waxing hot as Vesuvius, he said to the Southmissioning privateers to sweep our vessels from the seas. Waxing hot as Vesuvius, he said to the South-ern Confederates, "If you dare to touch one of our merchant ships, we will not leave one of your slaves in his fetters!" A fearful threat, to be sure! If you ommit outrages upon us, we will confer blessings upon you! If you are resolved to play the part of corsairs towards our property, we will act the part of benefactors towards you! Delightful revenge! Why, this is genuine Abolitionism!

to us by Jesus Christ. Under these circumstances, these is no difference of opinion among us; only let us see that we honestly carry out our principles;—for the only difference between the Abolitionists and the mass of the people has been this, that the former have declared their principles, applied them, and carried them out; whereas, the mass of the people have simply adopted their principles in the abstract, but not applied them, nor carried them out. Let us remember that this involves the question of the liberties of mankind. I do not alk about the negro—I do not see the negro—I see only a human being. I see the representative of all mankind in any one whose rights are cloven down. I see my own self impersonated, and deprived of every right that God has given me by creation. It is my own case—it is yours. I plead for

polied them, nor carried them out. Let us remember that this involves the question of the liberties of manhith. I do not talk about the negro—I do not see its temperature of all mankind in any one whose rights are lovered own. I see my own self impersonated, and leprived of every right that God has given me by creation. It is my own case—it is yours. I plead for those; in bonds, not because of their complexion or case, but because they are the children of God and prother men; and I desire to be as faithful to them as It would wish them to be to me, if our conditions were to write the friends of freedom, Justice, and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meat with them, as the well-known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on TRUESDAY, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let all join to make this Farnyau or Farneoux worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleasing mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleasing of our own land from the curse and shame of Human Sla-

I believe there is no difference of opinion now, that the Southern trailors are the vilest of thieves and robbers. State street says so, Wall street says so. "The villains," they say, "have stolen forts, arsenals, mints, everything belonging to the government within their reach, and are sending their piratical cruisers on the high seas, to seize our ships, and confactate our property. They ought to be hung by the neck—the piratical scoundrels!" Take care, gentlemen! Don't piratical scoundrels!" Take care, gentlemen! Do get angry! Don't use "harsh and denunciatory la guage"! The Abolitionists have been offenders guage"! The Abolitionists have been offenders in this particular long enough! Possess your souls in patience!

"They that have done these deeds are honorable men— So are they all, all honorable men!"

Ah! when the trial comes to ourselves; when it is our property that is seized and confiscated; when our rights are trodden upon, and we are driven to the wall,—how quickly is our vision snointed, and how clearly do we see the villany of the men who dare commit such outrages! Now, I have seen all this, and ten thousand times worse than all this, daily, hourly inflicted upon millions of my fellow-creatures, in the nersons of the slaves,—millions who have nothin the persons of the slaves,—millions who have noth-ing that they can call their own, who are doomed to life-long robbery, cruelty and oppression; and I have said that those who thus deprive them of their natunal rights, drag them down from their high position as importal beings among four-footed beasts, deprive them of all power of development and acquisition, ought to be branded as guilty of the basest robbery ought to be branded as guilty of the basest roobery and the vilest oppression; that there is no language adequate to depict their criminality; and, because the victims were black, I have been accused of using harsh and unchristian language! No, the language is not harsh, is not unchristian: it is impossible to call such conduct by any other name, and rightly define it. We must be, like Him who created us, no respecters of persons; but perceive and confess that the wrongs which are done to others, even the humblest of the human race, are as grieveus to be borne, and as much to be abhorred and condemned, as though they

o us.
what we can to change the public sentimation of the truth. Alas! for the bitter and proscriptive prejudice which every where prevails against the colored race! Those whom we treat the most in-juriously, we hate the most intensely. It is a fearful juriously, we hate the most intensity. It is a feature retribution upon us, as a people, because we have remorselessly trampled upon the poor and needy. Yes, it is because we have taken the helpless and unoffending negro, and said, "We will scourge him, work him without wages, deprive him of his liberty, treat him as a beast," God has sent this leprosy of colorphobia into our souls, and we are full of malignity and madness whenever the cause of the onpressed comes up. ness whenever the cause of the oppres ces whenever the cause of the oppressed comes up, becamanding full justice at our hands. Let us get rid of ill this! Let us see in every slave, Jesus himself; et us endeavor to remember the solemn test in the treat trial-hour, "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have the constant of the least of these, my brethren, ye have the constant of the least of these, my brethren, ye have the constant of the least of the least of the United States.

A bill for the organization of the limitary establishment.

A bill for the organization of a volunteer militiar force, to be called the National Guard of the United States. demanding full justice at our hands. Let us get rid of all this! Let us see in every slave, Jesus himself; let us endeavor to remember the solemn test in the great trial-hour, "Inasmuch as ye have not done it not done it unto me"; and let the same horror fill our minds at the idea of a slave being driven upon a Southern plantation, as we should feel if we saw our Southern plantation, as we should feel if a Savior under the lash of the slave-driver.

I have thus, very briefly, given you my "fanaticism," my "treason," my "infidelity." My cry still is, "NO UNON WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!" Does not that sound well to-day? (Applause.) What Union has the South for you, O people of the North! You are fighting for the flag, you say—not for the abolition of slavery. Go South, and they will smother you in its folds! You are fighting for the Constitution—not its folds! I ou are against or the Consutation—note for the abolition of slavery. Go South, and make the declaration, and you will never come back alive! You are fighting for the Union—not for the abolition of slavery. Go South, and denounce her treasonable and receive the fate of foliars! No longer. movement, and receive the fate of felons! No longer, then, be blind to the fact, that slavery is at the bottom of all our national divisions, and must be overthrown before we can be one people. Henceforth, be aboli-tionists, in deed and in truth! Tell the government that it will commit a most heinous egime, as well as be guilty of an act of transcendant folly, if at shall allow any considerable time to pass before proclaiming, UNDER THE WAR POWER, freedom to all in bondage. In the words of Whittier—

"Have they wronged us? Let us, then, Render back nor threats, nor prayers Have they chained our free-born men? LET US UNCHAIN THEIRS!"

And what cause for any delay? What further such a measure in sen-senence, and to promote the general welfare !—a measure that would at once bring the rebellious South to terms, and quickly end the war, enabling the country to organize a majestic and

the light and liberty of heaven! (Applause.)

Mrs. Anny Krley Forker was the last speaker, and her remarks were necessarily brief, the hour for adjournment having nearly arrived. She said there has appeared to be a confusion of tongues among the speakers, but I think there is really more harmony than might be supposed. Mr. Phillips, although opposed to the resolution condemning the government, wishes long life to Jefferson Davis; which shows that he has not much sympathy for those against whom posed to the resolution condemning the government, wishes long life to Jefferson Davis; which shows that he has not much sympathy for those against whom Jefferson Davis is contending. Mr. Garrison places more reliance upon the persistent diabolism of the South than upon the virtue of the North; and, in fact, when the matter is looked late, it will be found that there is no confusion of tongues. We are in the condition, to day, of the woman who saw her hanband and a bear in conflict, and didn't care a straw which whipped. Here stands Mr. Phillips, wanning the bear to whip the husband (he North) pretty thoroughly, until he shall rise up and make common cause with those under his heels. Mr. Foster's resolution says the same thing. Mr. Garrison has to thank the administration, which is an endorsement of the resolution of Mr. Foster. There is no confusion of heart, there is no confusion of the cold American Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. Mr. Marris was called for, but did not respond to the call, and after singing another hymn, the meeting adjourned, and the large company turned their face homeward, with pleasant recollections of a day happily, and we hope profitably spent.

Layra pass Eurows. Lord Chancellor Campbell died suddenly on the 23d, and Sir R. Bethel is his successor. The Sultan of Tarkey died on the 25th, and is succeeded by his breuther.

The loss by the great conflagration in London is over the constitution. Yery well.

The President's Message was communicated the constitution. Yery well.

The President's Message was communicated to Congress on Friday last. It is of moderate length, dispassionate but firm in its tone, and simple in its style. It saks for four hundred thousand soldiers and four hundred millions of dollars for the vigorous prosecution of the war. It is every where well received

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

nessent and memorable events in the interpreta-world,—another to modern,—the Peaceful Emancipation 800,000 Slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Just and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled to acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unw ling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the Slaves the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August

BLOODY CONFLICTS IN MISSOURI.

BLOODY CONFLICTS IN MISSOURI.

Kansas Citt, July 10. The Fort Scott Democrat
of the 7th, centains an account of a battle between
the Missouri State troops, under Gov. Sackson and
Gen. Rains, numbering, by their own account, from
10,000 to 13,000, and the Federal forces, under Col.
Seigel, numbering 1500. The first onset resulted in
the State troops being driven back some distance, and
their officers ordered a retreat. Their centre gav
awy, but the order not being heard on the finales, the
advancing Federal troops were in danger of being
surrounded themselves, and fell back, retreating slowly, keeping up a fight, our artillery making fearful
havoc among the rebels.

The loss of the rebels is very great. Our informant says he counted 70 or 80 wounded on the field and
in houses by the wayside. At Dry Fork a large
amount of beef was thrown out of their wagons to
make room for the dead.

Another informant, a resident of Carthage, states
that he, passed over a part of the battle-field, yester-

amount of peer was thrown make room for the dead.

Another informant, a resident of Carthage, states that he, passed over a part of the lattile-field, yesterday, and saw wagons and hacks passing in every direction, gathering up the dead for interment.

The losses, on the part of the State troops, is not less than 300 or 500. The ground in many places was strewn with dead horses, and the stench was sickening. The whole country is laid desolate; fences are torn down, crops trampled and houses plundered. Parties of women stated that everything had been taken from them by the traitors, except what they had on.

had on.

Foar Scorr, Mo., S.P. M. A citizen of this place
has just arrived, having left Sherman, Jasper county,
at daylight this morning. He states that after leaving
Carthage, Slegol encamped two miles southeast of
that town, where he was attacked in the night, and his
compared body cut m. His loss is variously estima-1000 to 3000 killed and wounded.

The A letter from Hagerstown, Md., says perfectly reliable information has been received that no less than eighty-three rebels were killed on Tuesday at Hainesville, and one hundred and twenty wounded.

Extra Session of Congress. Congress met at Washington on the 4th of July. Forty members of the Senate were present. Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the military committee, gave notice that he should offer on the following day—A bill to ratify and confirm certain acts of the President for the suppression of insurrection and rebellion. A bill to authorize the employment of volunteers to aid in enforcing the laws and protecting the public property.

driven upon a Lif we saw our There were present in the House, 159 members. Objection was made to the reception of Messra. Blair, mry "fanati-" My cry still 100cs not What Union What Union Mry North 1 You North 1 You for the abolition of Tenn. was elected Speaker, received for the abolition of Tenn. was elected clerk, receiving 92 votes.

DISTRESSING ACCIDENT, A sad accident occurred at the residence of the poet Longfellow, at Cambridge, Tuesday afternoon, by which Prof. Longfellow was seriously, and Mrs. Longfellow fatally burnt. The particulars of the occurrence are these:

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon Mrs. L. was standing at a table in the library, making wax seals for the amusement of her daughters. She threw down a lighted match, which struck her light efothing, setting it on fire, and she was almost immediately enveloped in flames.

If on Ire, had not was mear at hand, rushed to her assistance, and succeeded, with much difficulty, in consequence of the thin texture of her clothing, in consequence of the thin texture of her clothing, in critiquishing the fire. She was burned upon nearly every part of her person, except her face. She succeeded in keeping the fire from that, and it is believed she did not inhale any of the flames. Mr. Longfellow's hands were very badly burned, but he received little injury bestdes that, and is not considered to be in any danger.

little injury besides that, and is not considered to be in any danger.

Both were kept under the influence of ether during the night, by direction of attending physicians, Drs. Wyman of Cambridge, H. J. Bigelsw of Boston, and the constant of the constant

war, enabling the country to organize a majestic and enduring Union upon the basis of universal freedom, and putting an end to all sectional hostilities; so that, from ocean to ocean, the pulsations of the people shall beat together as one, and all shall be made happy in the light and liberty of heaven! (Applause.)

Mrs. Anny Kelley Forker was the last speaker, Mrs. Anny Kelley Forker was the last speaker on the 4th of March, 1823, and was appointed Commander on the 9th of September, 1852. Capital was the second of the commander on the active list. He had seen some sixteen years service at sea, and the year of the year

DESTRUCTIVE FIRES. The Fourth and succeeding days were marked by great fires in different places. Boston suffered severely on Thursday afternoon, losing some \$700,000 by conflagrations. The greatest was in East Boston, commencing on Whidden's wharf and sweeping over ten acros. Sixty houses, sight vessels, two factories, a machine shop and the sectional dry dock were destroyed.

At the same time, there was a fire on Albany and Hudson streets, which destroyed about twenty tenements.

The loas by the great conflagration in London is over two millions pounds sterling, and by some estimates three and four millions.

The Both the New Hampshire and the Connecticus Legislature postponed the consideration of the Constitution. Very well.

The General Fremont has been appointed to the command of the Western department, including Illinois and the States and Territories between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.

Cost OF THE WAR. The Weshington Republican undertakes to estimate the cost of the war for two years. The sum total is four hundred and fifty seven million dollars.

Rev. M. D. Conway, of Cincinnati, prea at Music Hall, Sunday forenoon, on the emerge of the times. The closing portion of his sermo lated to the war, which was advocated with at phasis. Mr. Conway believes in an energetic justion of the contest. He also thinks that the su of our arms will be the death-blow of slavery, sermon was much liked by the congregation. Conway is the live man of the Cincinnati pulpit has the largest congregation in the city.—Hoston.

EF MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fit-Thereby B. JAMANON, and D., naving and mi-clean years' experience in the Homeopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladles and Children of Boston and vicinity. References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D.,

Portland, Me. Rooms No. 20 Builinch street. Office hours from 2 to , P. M.

GF A. T. FOSS will speak at Sunday, July 14. Tuesday, " 16. Sunday, " 21.

FJ WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at Quaker Hi frore, South Foxboro', on Sunday next, July 14, at hal mast 5 o'clock, P. M., on The Present Crisis, and its co-section with the Slaves of the South.

EF REV. A. D. MAYO, of Albany, will speak at Mucic Hall, on Sunday, July 14.

#### OBITUARY .- MRS. ELIAS THOMAS.

From the time when Mr. Gannisos com

From the time when Mr. Garmisos commenced his labors, she was one of his warmest admirers, and entered heart and soul into the abolition of slavery as advocated by him. She had a mind far-eeting and generous in all its bearings—of large magnanimity, and yet considerate and optional in entering into the most trifling details. She possessed wit, brilliant and inexhaustible, but server aimed the shaft of sarcosm or the pointed retort to wound the feelings of any. She was always careful and assidious to relieve the wants of the poor around her; yet hat longed to do something to benefit the many needs of her darker brethren and sisters, and break some link in the heavy chain which has bound so long their bodies and souls. While she accomplished the duties of this world for those around her, yet the approbation of a Higher Power was always in her thoughts, and the smiles of a Heavesly Guide seemed still more approving to the spirit as ghe came nearer the dark portal which slowly closed after and glided before her earthly eyes forever. Her life, like that of sill carnest workers, was no calm and easy stream, fowing smoothly in its course, to be silently lost in the rushing river of Death; but no divided purposes, no relinquished objects, could show that her will ever failered.—She has left to her loved ones here, the contemplation of a life whose beautiful completeness strikes the mind as a Grecian statue fills the eye with its rounded fulness and harmonious proportions. Her last hours were perfect sevenity. A hymn was sung by her children around her bed

renity. A hymn was sung by her chiteren arount ser comone to which she loved to listen during her sickness—
and those were the last earthly sounds she heard. From
the strains that told of rest—"clernal, sacred, sure—
after an expression of pleasure at being so near the heavenly kingdom, her spirit slowly took its flight for that
home she had been surely approaching so long, where she
has gone to receive the reward of a life perfected by untiring exertion and unceasing energy.

Mrs. Thomas was the only daughter of William Widgety, for many years a very solive and influential citizen of
Portland, who died at an advanced age in 1632. In September, 1802, she married Elias Thomas, with whom she
lived in most happy union to the day of her death, bringing up a large and united family in virtuous habits and
sound principles, the oldeet of whom is the present respected Mayor of Portland, William Widgery Thomas. Her husband, with whom she lived more than 58 years in a congenial harmony, survives her in his 89th year.

Portland, (Me.) July 9, 1861.

\$40 PARKER

### Sewing Machines, PRICE PORTY DOLLARS.

THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licensed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Swing Company. They were awarded a Silver Media at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

Sales Room, 188 Washington street.

GEO. E. LEONARD, Agent.

Agents wanted everywhere.
All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice.
Boston, Jan. 18, 1861. IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

Report of the Judges of the last Fair of the Massach Charitable Mechanic Association.

"FOUR PARKER'S SEWING MACHINES. This Machine is so constructed that it embraces the combinations of the va-rious patents owned and used by Elisa Howe, Jr., Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay à Wilson, and Grover & Baker, for which these parties pay tribute. These, together with Parker's imprevements, make it à beautiful Machine. They are sold from \$40 to \$120 each. They are very perfect in their mechanism, being adjusted before leaving the manufactory, in such a manner that they cannot get deranged. The feed, which is a very essential point in a good Machine, is simple, positive and complete. The apparatus for guaging the length of stitch is very simple and effective. The tension, as well as other parts, is well arranged. There is another feature which strikes your committee favorably, viz: there is no wheel below the table between the standards, to come in contact with the dress of the operator, and therefore no dauger from oill or dirt. This machine makes the double look-stitch, but is so arranged that it lays the ridge upon Boston, June 7, 1861.

L·图 D·

PERUVIAN SYRUP. THE GREAT CURATIVE OF THE AGE. TRY IT.

It will entirely cure, or greatly relieve, the following distressing complaints: Dyspapela, Dropsy, Diarrhosa General Deblitty, Nervounces, Ulcers, Piles, Bronchitts, Jaundice, Dysentery, Neuralgia, Liver Complaint, Eryspelas, and the endices catalogue of Female Difficulties, most of which originate in a low state of the blood. Get our new Pamphlet, and read it.
JEWETT & COMPANY,

No. 39 Summer st., Boston. No. 39 Sam For sale by all Druggists. April 19. Smis.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing, "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed fro 223 Washington Street, to No. 31 WINTER STREET,

No. 31 WINTER STERET,
where he will attend to all diseases of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine cases out of len, as she has
or many years made the hair, her study, and is sure there
we none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.
Her Restorative differs from that of any one cles, being
made from the roofs and herbs of the forest.
She Champone with a bark which does not grow in this
country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before
staing the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from
arming grey.

WALDAWE GARTEAUX BANNISTER.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTEH, June 14. No. 31 Winter Street, Bo

## Boetry.

THE BLAVE MOTHER-A BALLAD. It will be inflicient preface to the following Ballad is ale, that it is the plain relation of an incident whice appened in Kentucky in 1831.

The day had scarce began to dawn, The sun behind the hills Had far to journey ere his rays Should gild the mountain rills.

A woman with three little ones Came from a lowly shed, And out upon a lenely path Those little ones she led. The morn was dark and lowering,

And sourcely one might see, When at a distance she appea What woman she might be. She led those little ones along,

The oldest was a little boy, Some six yarm summers old, And doubtless to a mother's sight Was lovely to behold.

The others were two little girls, Just old enough were they, Led by their mether's helping hand, To walk along the way.

"Where are we going, mother, now?"
The little brother speks;
"S. I was dreaming a sweet dream,
Just as we all awoke." "We're going but a little way Come, children, come along Come, children, come along;
You cannot think a mother's hand
Would lead her babies wrong.

"O, I have suffered much for you, Nor will I live to see The dreadful evils come to you, Which long have come to me.

When I was old as you, my son, I can remember well, How I was brought across the sea,

"They tore me from my mother's aims, And brought me here to toil, And every day my tears and blood Have dewed this hated soil.

No, children, such a wretched fate You shall not live to see. She stept heside a little string

That in the meadow flowed,
Just as the first faint gleam of dawn Along the valley glowed. The morning showed these little enes Were like the sable night, But well the wretched mother knew Their little souls were white.

She took her little darling babes. And put them in the spring—
It would have grieved a human heart
To see so sad a thing. She held her little babies there

Until-they all were dead; But though her soul was wrenched outright, Yet not a tear she shed.

Thus mother cruel call; It was that she had felt so much, She took her little babies then.

And hid them side by side;
Twas there beside the meadow s
Where those dear babies died.

She laid her little babies there, Three children, cold as clay, And long beside the meadow spring She kissed them where they lay.

The wretched mother turned away, With none her grief to heed; Then down the valley she returned, Again to toll and bleed.

NOTHING TO DO.

"Nothing to de"? O, pause, and look around
At those oppressed with want, and sorrow too!
Look as the wrongs, the sufferings that abound,
Ere yet thou sayest, there's nought for thee to do.

"Nothing to do"? Are there no hearts that ach No care-worn breasts that heave an auguished sigh— No burthens that thy hands may lighter make— No bitter tears thy sympathy might dry?

Are there no hungry whom thy hand may feed No sick to aid, no naked to be clad? No sick to aid, no maked to be clad?

Are there no blind, whose feetsteps thou may'st lead?

No mourning heart, that thou could'st make less sad

"Nothing to do"? Hast thou no store of gold—
No wealth of time, that thou should'st well employ?
No hidden talent, that thou should'st unfold—
No gifts that thou should'st use for others' joy?

"Nothing to do "? O, look without, within!

Be to thyself and to thy duties true!

Look on the world, its troubles, and its sin,

And own that thou hast much indeed to do!

COMPROMISE The veriest spawn of the "Father of Lies"
Is that oreeping oreature called Compromise

A slimy thing in villanous guise, With the pompous title—Compror The tool of the weak—the scorn of the w Oh! men! beware of Compromise! Crooked and dark the pathway lies ere the fiend named Con Avoiding the gleam of good men's eyes Characteriess crawls Compromise.

"Let's settle the matter by Comprom So, wrapped in a screen that detection defice,

Two thieves who grasp at a stolen prize, Divide the spoils by Compromise— A country groans and a nation sighs When the leaders turn to Compromise

Though fools may hope to strengthen ties By Cotton bands of Compromise. If you wish to see a nation rise, Dare to speak of Compromise!

Accursed be he who sells or buys Hang him high, and after he dies, Can ye never a plan devise To save your land but Compromise?

Come to your senses! Up! Arise! Ere ye strike on the rock of Compro

OUT OF DARKNESS COMETH LIGHT.

The hand that made both good and ill, Makes all obedient to His will.

Weary souls, be not east down; First wear the cross, then wear the crown

The Biberator.

TWO SLANDERS ON HAYTI REFUTED.

Boston, July 2, 1861.

We. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR-I do not think that you quite did me justice in your notice of my Guide to Hayti; but as you indicated the chapter and the book from which you quoted, I have no inclination to complain. Still less do I seek to controvert your opinions on the question of colored emigration to Hayti. I cannot state more clearly than I have aiready done, my reasons for embarking, with all the energy and enthusiasm of my nature, in the mission entrusted to me by the Government of Hayti. Controversy is useful only when it tends to advance a cause, or to convince an opponent; ernment of Hayti. Controversy is useful only when it tends to advance a cause, or to convince an opponent; and, inasmuch as we occupy different stand-points—you employing the moral agencies alone, I seeking to bring the physical forces against slavery—it is not likely that we would agree, excepting to agree to differ as to our respective modes of action. I recognize the great value of your labors, and your method; but, at the same time, I have faith also in another class of workers and of powers. Discussion, therefore, could scall pothing.

spy, whom the Haytian government lodged in jail, and liberated only to ship him out of the country by the

infinitely above my position under the Haytian government, and vastly over my desire to see a powerful Negro nation in the Antilles as the foundation of a mixed West India Confederacy of free-cotton-growing Commonwealths. I did not seek either honors or office in Hayti; both were forced on me—both were equally unexpected to me. Favor did not follow fawning, but the most inflexible independence of thought and action. I have friends among all parties there, but I flattered no one of them, and stood aloof from them all, while I always expressed my opisions freely. Certainly, I have every reason to be zealous in the Northern mind, growing out of a discovery made

"Now, as to the work performed under government auspices by the emigrants, see how different a version of it far. Galloway gives. He says that the land give no the emigrants would be improved, it was found by irrigation, in certain localities, and that they has prepared to tilg a long canal from the Artibonite river for that purpose. But some of the emigrants coals for an appropriation, in aid of the project, of 80,000 Haytian. The government granted it, and more. This generous act the Spaniard, or dog Noble of the Express, now tries to pervert into an act of oppression."

Letters received by the last arrival from Hayt

Letters received by the last arrival from Haytle confirm these statements. I received, also, by the Echo, letters from emigrants, who spoke of no such outrages, but, on the contrary, were exceedingly laudatory of the government of the Republic.

With much esteem, your obedient servant,

JAMES REDPATH.

ORATION OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

A very able and elaborate Oration was delivered in the Academy of Music, in the city of New York, on the 4th of July, by Hon. Edward Everett, on Southme sin of July, by Hon. Edward Everett, on South-ern Secession, and the present War growing out of it. It would occupy more than two entire pages of our paper; but we are unable to find room for any more than that portion of it which relates to the Slavery

INTERFERENCE WITH SLAVERY THE GREAT AL

put, at the same time, I have min anon a nonner case of workers and of powers. Discussion, therefore, and varial nothing.

I nak permission merely to answer two slanders of the Haytian people, which, coming from unfriendly sources, have appeared in the columns of the Libertoto, but have not yet been refuted in your journal.

The first was copied from the Chatham Planer, (Canada West.) of March 8. I replied to it briefly in that paper, and, as my answer contains the paragraph you printed, I subjoin the Letter:—

"Sin—In your journal off March 8, in a report of a lecture by John Rrown, ir., you sata—

"Geomes, like many other localities, Hayti has its peculiarities. The Rev. Wm. P. Newman, formely of Dresden, in this county, has resided in Hayti for some the contenting enignation from that quarter. In prosecuting his longities, be was very successful. But we are informed, that in consequence of adificulty arising between the Newman and a local case. The origin of this difficulty seems to be found in the fact that, out the coaching of some religious procession, passing along the streets of Port-au Prince—the Shate religion in Hayt it Roman and a local case. The origin of this difficulty seems to be found in the fact that, out the coaching of some religious procession, passing along the streets of Port-au Prince—the Shate religion in Hayt it Roman of the passing host. Upon being requested to do so, he refused, when an officer forcibly took Mr. N's hat off. Of course, Mr. Newman and a long and the Nature of the street of the Newman was finded to revise the seem of the passing host. It is true that the considers impairs his usefulness in that country. Hence his return to this Province. This seem to the constant of the Newman was finded for writing an insading the passing passing than the constant of the Newman was finded for writing an insading the passing that the constant of the Newman was finded for writing an insading the new of the passing how the passing the province of the was a contract of the passing that th

"Mr. Newman was fined for writing an insuting letter to an American emigrant named Hepturn The British Consul said to me, in referring to this letter, that, had he received it, he would have broken every bone in Mr. Newman's body.

"There can be no charge more unjust and untrue, no matter by whom made, than that the Haytians are informant. Whoever is sceptical on this point, can carefully a seal all history of Mr. Newman's career in Hayti, as it would appear both ungenerous and cowardly to assall a man who is absent. Mr. Newman will soon return to the Provinces, and then, if he wishes it, I am ready to discuss his Haytian record with him. I have all the documents on file, and am fully prepared to refute the innumerable calumnies that he has secretly written respecting Hayti, and his own race through Hayti, since he discovered that a Government with any sense of self-respect would neither permit itself to be builted not insulted."

—The second of the unjust accusations about the Haytians, republished by the Liberstor, and very prominently printed, but not yet corrected, was an extract from the news by the Echo, as reported by the New York Express. This news was copied by the New York Tribume, Boston Journal and Boston Truedler, but all of them promptly published my letter in reply to it. I infer that these letters have excapted your attention. Permit me, therefore, to condense the facts given in them.

I have not the Liberstor by me, but I think this is the paragraph you quoted:

"There was also another trouble brewing on the island, which was likely to embarrass the government. The free blacks that had been enfleed, there by Yeef fard found things quite divided his associates. They were consulted to the free blacks, brought this intelligence, and this will probably be the last of Redgath's scheme of emancipation to linyth."

This "friend of the free blacks," was a Spanish spy, whom the Haytian government lodged in jail, and liberated only to ship him out of the country by the Echo. It was but natural that a dis

liberated only to ship him out of the country by the Echo. It was but natural that a disgraced spy should hurry to the kennel of the Doy Noble to return his vomit on the Haytian authorities.

Before refuting his slanders, let me say that I prize my reputation as a man of honor and an Abolitonist infinitely above my position under the Haytian government, and vastly over my desire to see a powerful Negro nation in the Antilles as the foundation of a mixed West India Confederacy of free-cotton-growing Com. stengthened the anti-slavery sentiment throughout flattered no one of them, and stood aloof from them all, while I always expressed my opisions free? Certajaly. I have every reason to be zealous in the service of the Haytian Government; but, were it to violate any one of its promises and guarantees to emigrants, I would not hesitate one moment to crush our the movement in the United States, and be the movement in the United States, and the United States and the Un

ime limited by the Constitution, for the interdiction of the slave trade. When the Missouri restriction was enacted, all the members of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet—Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirk—concurred with Mr. Monroe in affirming its conteit unionality. In 1832, after the Southampton Massacre, the evils of slavery were exposed in the Log-islature of Virginia, and the expediency of its grack-all abolition maintained, in terms as decided, as were ever employed by the most uncompromising agritator. A bill for that object was introduced into the Assembly by the grandson of Mr. Jefferson, and warmly supported by distinguished politicians now on the stage. Nay, we have the recent admission of the Vice-President of the Seceding Confidencey, that what he calls "the errors of the past generation," meaning the anti-slavery sentiments entertained by Southern statesmen, "still clung to many as late as trently years ago."

To this hasty review of Southern opinions and measures, showing their accordance, till a late date, with Northern sentiment on the subject of slavery, implication of the vice-fifth of the slaver. It might add the testimony of Washington, of Parick Henry, of George Mason, of Wysle, of Pendleton, of Marshall, of Lowndes, of Poinsett, of Clay, and of nearly every first-class name in the Southern States. Nay, as late as its and after the Union had been shaken by the agritations inclient to the acquisition of Macican territory, the Convention. Of California, although nearly one-laff of its members were from the slaveholding States, unaminously adopted a Constitution by which slavery was problibited in that State. In fact, it is now it is the many that the decidence of the North, by the fact that many the state of the south an unitary of the state of the south of the support of the North, that the decap revailing on this subject when the Constitution was adopted are fundamentally wrong; that the new government of the Confederate States "rests upon exactly the opposite ideas; that its foundations are laid a

reverse.

NO ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES ENACTED BY CONGRESS.

Mr. Davis, in his message to the Confederate States, goes over a long list of measures, which he declares to have been inaugurated, and gradually extended, as soon as the Northern States had reached a sufficient number to give their representatives a controlling voice in Congress. But of all these measures, not one is a matter of Congressional Legislation, nor has Congress, with this alleged controlling voice on the part of the North, ever either passed a law hostile to the interests of the South, on the subject of slavery, nor failed to pass one which the South has claimed as belonging to her rights or needed for her safety. In truth, the anti-slavery North never has had the control of both Houses of Congress, never of the judiciary, rarely of the Exceutive, and never exerted these to the prejudice of Southern rights. Every judicial or legislative issue on this question, with the single exception of the final admission of Kansas, that has ever been raised before Congress, has been decided in favor of the South, and yet the allows herself to allege "a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves as the justification of her rebellion.

The beatile measures alluded to are, as I have said, none of them are purely imaginary as to any injurious effect, others much exaggerated, others unavoidably incident to freedom of speech and the press. You are aware, my friends, that I have always disapproved the agitation of slavery for party purposes, or with a view to infringe upon the Constitutional rights of the South. But if the North has given cause of complaint, in this respect, the fault has been equally committed by the South. The subject has been fully as much abused there as here for party purposes, and "if the North has ever made it the means of gaining a sectional triumph, she has but done what the South, for the last twentyfive years, has never missed an occasion of doing. With respect to everything substanti

rent of our legislation, so decided it. She masted on carrying this decision into effect, and three new territories, at the very last session of Congress, were organized in conformity to it, as Utah and New Mexico had been before it was rendered. She demanded a guarantee against amendments of the Constitution adverse to her interests, and it was given by the requisite majority of the two Houses. She required the repeal of the State laws obstructing the surrender of fugitive slaves, and although the had taken the extreme remedy of revolt into her hands, they were repealed or modified. Nothing satisfied her, because there was an active party in the cotton-growing States, led by ambitious men, attentioned on disunion, who were resolved not to be satisfied. In one instance alone, the South has suffered defeat. The North, for the first time since the foundation of the government, has chosen a President by her unsided electoral vote; and that is the occasion of the present unnatural war. I did enlist under the banner of "the Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws."

Under that banner I mean to stand, and with it, if we know, through a lady but recently from the

REPRESENTATION OF THEE-FIFTHS OF THE SLAYES.

It trust I have shown the flagrant injustice of this whole attempt to fasten upon the North the charge of wielding the powers of the Federal Government to the projudice of the South. But there is one great fact connected with this subject, seldom prominently brought forward, which ought forward, which ought forward to close the lijs of the South, in this warfare of sectional reproach. Under the old Confederation, the Congress consisted of but one house, and each State large and small had but a single vote, and consequently an equal share in the government, if government it could be called, of the Union. This manifest injustice was barely tolerable in a state of war; when the maintenance of the public danger tended to produce unanimity of feeling and action. When the country was relieved from the pressure of the war, and discordant interests more and more disclosed themselves, the equality of the States became a positive element of discontent, and contributed its full share to the downfall of that short-lived and ill-compacter frame of Government.

Accordingly when the Constitution of the United States was formed, the great object and the main difficulty was to reconcile the equality of the States, (which gave to Rhode Island and Delaware equal weight with Virginia and Massachusetts) with a proportionate representation of the people. Each of these principles was of vital importance; the first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small States, as due to their first being demanded by the small states, as due to their first being demanded by the small states, as due to their first being

jorities, this excess has been quite sufficient to assure the South a majority on all sectional questions. It enabled her to elect a candidate for the Presidency in 1800, and thus effect the great political revolution of that year, and is sufficient of itself to account for that approach to the monopoly of the government, which she has ever enjoyed.

Now, though the consideration for which the North agreed to this arrangement may be said to have wholly failed, it has nevertheless been quietly acquiesced in. I do not mean that, in times of high party excitement, it has never been alluded to as a hardship. The Hartford Convention spoke of it as a grievance which ought to be remethed; but even since our political controversies have turned almost wholly on the subject of slavery, I am not ware that this entire failure of the equivalent, for which the North gave up to the South what has secured her in

There can be no peace until it be firmly, definitely and finally settled that we have a government. This is the issue, and it must be met without the search of the service of the service

Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws."

Under that banner I mean to stand, and with it, if it is struck down, I am willing to fall. Even for this result, the South has no one to blame but herself. Her dismonists would give their votes for ne candidate but the one elected by leaders who avowed the purpose of effecting a revolution of the Cotton States, and who brought about a schism in the Domocratic party directly calculated, probably designed, to produce the event which actually took places, with all its dread consequences.

REPRESENTATION OF THREE-FIFTHS OF THE SLAYES.

I trust I have shown the flagrant injustice of this whole attempt to fasten upon the North the charge of wielding the powers of the Federal Government to the prejudice of the South. But there is one great fact connected with this subject, seldom prominently brought forward, which ought forever to close upon the North the charge and creating the powers of the Federal Government to the prejudice of the South. But there is one great fact connected with this subject, seldom prominently brought forward, which ought forever to close upon the North that of the production of a neared imagination.

Say the facts? One example shall sufficient say the facts? One exampl

guarantee and protection to all the rights of its liberty, property, and the pursuit of labpines deach and all the inhabitants of these United States, whether as citizens thereof or of any individual State. Shall we be "coerced" into its amendment on the label of the state of t

of ecercion.

Up, then, citizens of these United States of New America—up for the Government, for the Cost, tution, for liberty, for all that is sacred in a fee fought and bled! Trust not the syren are two timid, faltering, treacherous, traitorous views has would hall you to inaction with the cry. Parel peace! When THERE IS NO PEACE! Plaint phia Press.

# SECESSION TRAITORS AEROAD.

It is useless to disguise the fact that there are no our midst and scattered throughout the court, a our midst and scattered throughout the court, a few cowardly secession traitors, who, while they out wardly profess to sustain the government, seedly lose no opportunity to rejoice over every remove the assassination of the lamented Elisword; was meeting the assassination of the lamented Elisword; was meeting to the seedlers who have gone to fight the battles to be soldiers who have gone to fight the battles to be server the Union are democratis, and the soldiers who have gone to fight the battles to be server the Union are democratis and the dissoldiers that the war is unjust and unlock, and put claim to support the government and these descratic soldiers who are prosecuting the unlock and unjust war"!

This is secession consistency. It is cowardly to the last. Northern soldier should meet in death at the South, at the hands of the rede assassis.

These men are cowards at heart, or their sea

the last Northern soldier should meet he death in the South, at the hands of the rebt assains.

These men are cowards at heart, or their ass would be in accordance with their work. Why to would be in accordance with their work. Why to they not join the Southern army? The constry would then be rid of a set of, traiters—a dead weight which is destroying the best government in the world, and who, if opportunity presented, would be found openly what they are served—traiters to the North and the government, and destractive to the democratic party.

Now let us see what effect this secesson language will have on the democratic party.

Now let us see what effect this secesson language will have on the democratic party. It is claused by the secession paper in this county, and the service of the contract of the secesson paper in this county, and the service are democratic; and yet they pronounce the variages and unbody, and glory over the defeat and as assistantion of those democratic soldiers, and the success of the rebels.

Do those democratic volunteers regard this was assistantion of those democratic officers, and the success of the rebels.

Do those democratic volunteers regard the way of the men, or with any party, who give "all and comflort" to the enemies of the government, and who secretly desire that the volunteers from the South?

Never! The man who shall run on any their who has aided and countenanced secsion, would not be dignified by being placed among the sattle sear rebels. The act of secession has been a predetermined thing with them for years, only waining a favorable opportunity to strike the blor. Fabring no rearonable excuse, they broke up the Charleston and Baltimere conventions, and run Brekinridge to insure the election of Lincoln.

The running of Breckinridge was a mere fire. The year into the contest upon the principle of the gambler who tossed pennics, "Heads I win tails you lear." The Souther Suite.

The running of Breckinridge was a mere fare. They went into the contest upon the principle of the gambler who tossed pennies, "Head I via, tails you lose." The Southern States elected Liscoln by running Breckinridge, and then held is election as their justification for secression. One after another they seceded, and had actually matured a plan to march on and take Washington.

At this stage of things, the North rose as one man, and it is the duty of every patroite citized to strengthen the hands of the government in the semergency. The Union will be sustained at any sacrifice of blood and treasure, and these Souther rebels will be taught a lesson it would be well for the country if they had learned earlier. They will be brought back subdued and humiliated; and we to the traitor of to-day who shall venture intopicies after a peace shall be concluded! He will be marked and doomed.—Catskill (Democratic) lowed.

## THE PEACE THAT MEANS PEACE

Peace is surely desirable. Its value can hardy the estimated. Civil war, such as we are now enlarg upon, is among the very worst of national calastics. The ill-blood between sections, which vil grow out of it, is another great misortume. He waste of treasure and of human life, invited in the struggle, will be fearful. And yet, peace mise too dearly purchased. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a dishonorable peace. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a peace peach and the struggle of the dishonorable peace. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a peace peach and the struggle of the dishonorable peace. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a peace peace and the struggle of the dishonorable peace. We should not be disposed to rejoice over a peace which are not peace to the dishonorable peace which committed us to its maintenance, or spectioned its extension. Give us, rather, the opposite policy, and root out the cause of our troubles, even

tioned its extension. Give us, rather, the opposite policy, and root out the cause of our troubles, even though it cost all it seems likely to cost!

To buy back the rebels—to offer them a price to come into the Union and rule over us again, would be the height of folly and weakness.

It would establish rebellion as a regular resource of defeated parties, and the means whereby they could carry the ends they could not carry by the ballot-box. To recognize their independence wall be to make secession the resource of every sightly dissatisfied State, and our Union would crand the control of the control

dissatisfied State, and our Union would rapidly to pieces.

But no compromise can now be successful. He North is determined to wipe out, once for all, the great rebelliom of 1861, and to make an example it that shall deter demagagues in future from a tempting to overthrow the nation because he preple have decided they shall not rule it.—Juli (N. Y.) Republican.

THE "CONTRABAND" AT FORTRESS MOSTOR. COrrespondent of the New York World writes for Fortress Monroe as follows:

"On my way into the camp, I passed a groes sitting on the edge of the bluft, and it wards Africa. They were of all age, since costumes. In brief, they were a group of the contrabands," who had come in during the the adjacent country, and were to be sent der Monroe by the next beat, and were the contrabands of the co

one on which your correspondent emanace.

One of them—a little fellow with a face as lakels an ink-bottle, big, tumorous lips, white clones all brief breeches, who were also an examons capabilities, of the precise pattern adopted by the scenario army—looked at me with a peculiar gris af

sion army—looked at me with a pecuapassed.

Yah! yah! I gueff so! vas the representation of the state of the solution of the

No Parsudden Against Colon. The Velskey Whig is in extasles over a free negro manel feel Chavis, who has written a letter to the keys let confederate loan, in which he states that he keys let confederate loan, in which he states that he he had not a service in the way of let he he had not a service in the way of let he he had not a service he had not a service he had not service he now desire he he had not a service he had not had not service he now desire he he had not a service he had not had no